FBIS DAILY REPORT

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CTK REPORTS RESUMPTION OF GENEVA TALKS 17 MAY

LD171705 Prague CTK in English 1118 GMT 17 May 83

[Text] Geneva [no date as received] -- Soviet-U.S. talks on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe were resumed at the Soviet Embassy here today after a six-week break. The Soviet delegation is led by Yuliy Kvitsinskiy and the American by Paul Nitze.

In the course of the talks, which started on October 17, 1980, the USSR has been coming up with proposals aimed at limiting medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe on the basis of equality and equal security. These proposals, however, met with reluctance on the part of the United States which so far wanted the number of these weapons to be reduced only by the USSR and aimed at achieving military superiority for the West.

The latest Soviet proposal for reducing not only numbers of missiles but also nuclear warheads also recognizes the interests of all sides, rightly insisting on British and French nuclear systems being included in the talks.

The coming weeks and months will show whether the United States is really interested in achieving an agreement or whether it only pretends such an interest in order to silence public opposition to the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

TANJUG: 'WELL-GROUNDED PROSPECTS' FOR CSCE ACCORD

LD101941 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1634 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Madrid, May 10 (TANJUG) -- There exist well-grounded prospects of reaching agreement on the promotion (?of European security and) cooperation at the marathon Madrid meeting of government representatives of 35 countries.

Today's (Tuesday) session of delegation heads gives hope that the Eastern and Western blocs have the political will to overcome the confrontation which has for months (?put a) brake on a successful close of the Madrid meeting of the CSCE.

The content of the Soviet message that official Moscow completely accepts the draft concluding document of the conference submitted by neutral and non-aligned European countries found itself [passage indistinct].

On behalf of the EEC, the delegate of the Federal Republic of Germany today emphasized that the Soviet message strengthens hopes for achievements of the final consensus. The latest Western proposals, he emphasized, do not touch upon the sovereignty of any state and are acceptable for all participants in the CSCE. The EEC therefore [words indistinct] that negotiation which would [word indistinct] a successful close of the Madrid meeting be started [words indistinct] as possible.

Almost all representatives of the neutral and non-aligned European countries took the floor in the debate. Pointing out that their draft concluding document has no alternative, they did not oppose some improvement of its contents.

In the debate the Yugoslav representative expressed the hope that all participants will now sincerely work for bringing the CSCE to a successful close.

BTA CHIEF URGES IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ANTONOV

AU180944 Sofia BTA in English 0847 GMT 18 May 83

["Why Antonov Is Not Released" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 18 (BTA) -- The director general of the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency, Mr Boyan Traikov, comments:

The Rome investigating department, and investigating magistrate Ilario Martella refused to release Sergey Antonov. The appeal of the defense lawyers Consolo and Larussa, in which they motivated not only the lack of evidence pointing to Antonov's guilt, but also supported with arguments his absolute innocence, his uninvolvement in the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul the Second, was rejected.

Shall we have to be surprised? We must certainly feel very much surprised when an almost six-month long investigation revealed that there is no, absolutely no facts to testify directly or indirectly to any participation on the part of Antonov in this assassination attempt. What is more there are lots of facts testifying that he is a victim of a slander and a machination, facts which disprove the lies of murderer Agca. Let us recall the words of Magistrate Martella as quoted by IL MESSAGGERO: "How is that that the Turk mentions dates? What if in January Rositsa Antonova happened to be away from Italy and away from Rome? What if on May the tenth, Sunday, Antonov happened to be out of home, what if his wife were away [as received] and the apartment locked?.... What was then the accusing Turk to do? He would have been loudly refuted."

Well! It has already been proved in an irrefutable and documented way that in January of 1981 Rositsa Antonova was not in Italy and that she was not introduced to Agca. On May 10, she was not in Italy and did not therefore participate in the conference about the assassination attempt against the pope. Agca was loudly refuted. What followed? Instead of release -- a rejection of the request to release Antonov.

Shall we have to be surprised? Naturally since already many of the Italian papers and magazines, too, have expressed doubts in the "Bulgarian connection," since the inquiry of the American television A.B.C. failed to detect a "Bulgarian involvement," since the "revelations" of NEW YORK TIMES were qualified as "journalistic misfortune," since even the most credulous believe no more in that big lie.

But we are not and we cannot be surprised, because the true reason for the detention and accusation of Antonov were plain from the beginning -- this is a political provocation against Bulgaria and the socialist community. And it is not the juridical norms and principles but this political essence that do determine the conduct and the decisions of the Rome investigating department in the case with Antonov.

The very rejection of the demand for the release of Antonov, when his innocence is a generally acknowledged fact, comes as a further confirmation of our assessment and our assertion that what is going on in Rome is not a routine investigation of pieces of evidence, but an implementation of a programme for political provocation.

According to the Rome investigating office the innocent Antonov must stay imprisoned. No matter if justice is neglected. No matter if basic laws and legal principles are infringed. No matter if elementary human and civil rights are violated.

The Rome investigating department has given up [word indistinct] and blindfolded is listening to the voice dictating to them the political aims of the investigation -- to arouse the feelings of distrust between the peoples of the East and the West, to justify the arms race.

Why has Magistrate Martella refused to release the innocent and already depressed Sergey Antonov once again? Whether it is not because he finds it difficult to get out of the confused situation clear-handed? Or whether because of fears, as the newspaper LA STAMPA wrote, that if the "Bulgaria case" disappears the "Italy case" is bound to appear?

Or whether it is simply because of the wish to prolong the long-planned anti-Bulgarian and antisocialist campaign?

The motives of Martella to keep on detaining Sergey Antonov, as the Italian news agency ANSA reported, were passed over in silence. Why? The decision of Magistrate Martella is wrapped in secrecy, because there are no reasons at all for the imprisonment of Antonov. Because this decision is a gross violation of laws, of morals even in a bourgeois society.

The papal assassination attempt, now already two years since it was carried out, is a question which interests millions of people in Europe and the world. Millions of people wish to know the course of the investigation into this attempt. The world public has the moral right to be kept informed as to the results of this investigation. Since investigating Magistrate Martella has decided to keep Antonov imprisoned, then let him have the valour to make the motives that have prompted his decision known. Why, if not guilty, should he hide himself from the world public behind the screen of investigation secrecy?

No reasons can explain or justify the decision of the Rome investigating department not to release Antonov. In spite of the fact that Antonov remains imprisoned, it has already become clear that the accusation against him and against Bulgaria is a deed of the Italian secret services in cooperation with other intelligence centres. It has already become plain that this machination was made possible in Italy because of the ambitions of certain circles and the special relations with the initiators of the neo-crusade against socialism. The anti-Bulgarian and the antisocialist campaign can withstand no more. It has failed. They do not believe any more in the slander that Bulgarian citizens and bodies have had some involvement in the attempt to assassinate the pope. Even those who initially believed now harbour doubts as to the "Bulgarian connection" with the attempted assassination. The campaign is no longer yielding the desired results.

The decision to keep on detaining Antonov postpones and aggravates the end of this story. There is only one right and reasonable decision -- to release Antonov now!

TRADE COOPERATION PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH CUBA

AU170947 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 17 May 83

[Text] On 17 May in Sofia a protocol on cooperation between Bulgaria and Cuba in the areas of domestic trade, the meat industry, and services, as well as on trade exchange during 1983 and the prospects for its increase until 1984-85 was signed. The document was signed by Georgi Karamanev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of internal trade, and public services, and by Manuel Sosa Vila, Cuba's minister of domestic trade.

SVOBODA MEETS SYRIAN DEPUTY PREMIERS IN DAMASCUS

LD172258 Prague CTK in English 1705 GMT 17 May 83

[Text] Damascus [no date as received] -- Syrian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam received here on Monday Czechoslovak Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Stanislav Svoboda, who heads the Czechoslovak delegation to the two countries' Foreign Ministry consultations.

On Tuesday, the Czechoslovak delegation was received by 'Abd al-Qadir Qaddurah, Syrian deputy premier for economic affairs.

The Syrian side appreciated the consultations as an expression of the support Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries grant Syria in the present critical situation in the Middle East. Stanislav Svoboda conveyed to the Syrian officials the Czechoslovak people's solidarity with the struggle against the manoeuvres of imperialism and Zionism, and stressed Czechoslovakia's support for the struggle of Palestinian people for recognition of their national rights.

HUSAK ATTENDS MILITARY PARTY CONFERENCE IN PRAGUE

Report by General Kantner

LD111039 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 11 May 83

[Text] A 2-day conference of the CPCZ of the Western Military District of the Czechoslovak People's Army opened in Prague today. It was attended by a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee led by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the party's Central Committee and president of the republic.

In his report, Major General Vojtech Kantner, deputy chief of the Political Directorate of the Western Military District, stressed that the foremost task of Communists and members of the Army is the further development of our Army as an inseparable part of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member states. It must be a highly modern army, devoted to the party and the people and able, together with the Soviet Army and the armies of the other socialist states, to defend peace and all the advantages of socialism. He praised the fact that the work of party organizations is more purposefully directed toward concrete and immediate tasks concerned with increasing the political modernization of military technology, and with improving all levels of command.

The report urges all political organs, primary organizations of the party, and Communists of the Western Military District to continue exerting their efforts toward implementing the tasks set by the 16th congress.

Husak Address

LD111456 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 11 May 83

[Text] Gustav Husak, head of the delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, general secretary of the party's Central Committee and president of the Republic, today addressed the conference of the CPCZ of the Western Military District of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

On behalf of the party's Central Committee and on his own behalf he greeted the delegates and the guests, the district party organization, and all members of the military district. He praised their effort and contribution toward strengthening the combat and political strength of the Czechoslovak People's Army in enhancing the country's defense capability in the spirit of the 16th CPCZ Congress program. He also praised the help of the Czechoslovak People's Army in implementing the results in the national economy and in other sectors of social life.

Comrade Gustav Husak said that, just as in the Army, Communists throughout the state met in the past months at their annual member meetings of primary organizations, conferences in enterprises and villages, and at district conferences. The fruitful annual deliberations of more than 1.6 million Communists will culminate in several days in regional conferences and city conferences in Prague and Bratislava. The deliberations of these important party assemblies between the congresses plus other information show that despite the complex conditions in the last few years it has been possible to fulfill the basic guidelines of the 16th party congress.

The results we are achieving, however, cannot result in self-satisfaction, Comrade Gustav Husak stressed. The main requirement for the future is still more energetic implementation of the strategic line of greater effectiveness and quality of work, faster transition of our economy along the path of intensive development, and increasing productivity of the national economy. The annual meetings and conferences have demonstrated that the situation in the party and society is good. Their deliberations fully displayed the ideological, political and organizational unity of the CPCZ, its ability to act and the responsible approach of party organs and organizations toward fulfilling the tasks and problems facing them.

Comrade Gustav Husak praised the fact that in the Czechoslovak People's Army the Communists' annual deliberations display a critical and self-critical approach in assessing the results of party work, and that specific measures are being adopted for its further improvement. We consider this to be an expression of responsibility by the Communists to the party and the people in safeguarding the defense of socialism, and of the Army members' solidarity with the policy of the CPCZ and its Central Committee, Comrade Gustav Husak said. The Czechoslovak People's Army represents a firm link in the union of the armies of the Warsaw Treaty member states. The CPCZ considers the good care of the country's enhanced defense capability, the fulfillment of the internationalist pledges within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, the all-round development and strengthening of cooperation with the Soviet Army and the armed components of the other socialist states as an inseparable part of the effort in implementing the 16th party congress program and in building the advanced socialist society. The policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state is based on the principle of unity in building and defending socialism. Consistent implementation of this principle stresses the current development of the world, where the international situation, owing to the adventurous policy of the militarist circles of the United States and its allies in NATO, has considerably deteriorated and has been exacerbated. This policy of confrontation strives to disturb the military balance and to achieve global military superiority, being directed against the vital interests of the people, against progress and peace.

Comrade Gustav Husak stressed the significance of the USSR's consistent peace policy, in which Czechoslovakia is taking an active part, together with the other socialist states.

A way out of the current tense international situation is also noted by the proposals contained in the Political Declaration adopted at the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states in Prague this January. Together with intensifying the struggle for the peaceful solution of problems it is necessary to react to the dangerous policy of imperialism also along the military political line, to lead the members of the Army to a high degree of political vigilance and combat-readiness, to constantly perfect their combat, specialist and political readiness.

In this connection, Comrade Gustav Husak stressed that even in the Army, with the very positive assessment of results, it is necessary to consider critically what is to be improved and perfected, whether professional standards, standards of managerial and organizational work, discipline, or other spheres of Army life. He also stressed the Army's great responsibilities and vast opportunities in educating young people. This, of course, is the task of all society, but the Army can contribute more toward it. With all the good work done to date in this sphere we must stress the increasing effectiveness of ideological and educational work; we must constantly deepen patriotic and internationalist education and strive to educate young Army members as conscientious builders and defenders of our homeland.

In concluding his address at the conference of the CPCZ of the Western Military District of the Czechoslovak People's Army, Comrade Gustav Husak expressed the conviction that Communists, all the members of the Western Military District, and all the Czechoslovak People's Army will continue responsibly fulfilling the tasks arising for them from the conclusions of the 16th party congress and from the pledges within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, and that they will constantly strengthen their alliance with the people.

MILITARY, BORDER FORCE CONFERENCES CONCLUDE

AU161315 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Report by "(ST)" and "(SP)": "To Further Perfect Combat and Political Preparedness; Conclusion of Party Conferences in the Armed Forces"]

[Excerpts] Prague, 12 May (ST) -- This Thursday the party conferences of the Western Military District and the Border Guards and State Border Protection Forces were concluded in Prague. The conferences have unambiguously confirmed that the Communists in our Armed Forces are propared to share yet more efficiently in enhancing the combat, political and mobilization preparedness of the troops.

In their discussion speeches the delegates to the conference of the Western Military District devoted primary attention to issues of enhancing the education of soldiers and young commanders, in which an irreplaceable role is played by the exemplary accomplishment of tasks by every Communist. They also spoke of enhancing the action ability of party organizations, which bear the decisive responsibility for the Communists' lasting ideo-theoretical growth and for leading party members and candidate members toward consistently mastering Marxism-Leninism, toward getting to know the contents and aims of the party policy and its realization under Army conditions. Particular emphasis was placed on attention to Communists -- soldiers in basic military service, for whom their 2 years in the Army must not merely mean a professional training for the defense of the fatherland, but also a period of further maturing into active CPCZ Members.

The resolution adopted by the delegates at the conclusion of the conference encompasses the goals of the further efforts by Communists in the Western Military District, which entail the primary task of further consolidating combat readiness and preparedness, the moral-political profile and discipline. In ideological work the main emphasis is placed on developing and consolidating the class, patriotic, and international awareness of the soldiers and civilian workers. In party work the main task is to consolidate the Marxist-Leninist character, and the ideological, organizational and action unity, of district party organizations, which are the basis for the accomplishment of all tasks.

-- (SP) -- The party conference of Border Guards and State Border Protection Forces assessed the results of work in fulfilling the 16th CPCZ Congress resolutions; it discussed urgent tasks; and the course to be taken by the party organization in the coming period. In their extensive discussion the delegates stated, in accord with the report, that the Communists have had a significant share in successfully mastering the tasks during the last 2 years.

Owing to the more effective influence of political bodies, the growing action ability of the CPCZ's plant organizations, and the Communists' exemplary role, the party's role has been successfully deepened; this is establishing conditions for protecting the state borders, for combat and political training, for combat preparedness and the communist education of border guards. Due to the joint effort of Communists -- commanders, chiefs, political bodies and party organizations -- the unified management system has been further consolidated, and the security-oriented character of the protection of the CSSR's borders deepened.

The conference stressed that border protection is also positively influenced by the successfully developing cooperation with regional party and state bodies and the local population in the border areas, as well as by the improving collaboration with the National Security Corps and other bodies of the Ministry of the Interior. International cooperation with the bodies for protecting the state borders and neighboring socialist states, as well as utilization of the rich experience of Soviet border troops, are also indispensable.

TELEVISION AUDIENCE VIEWING HABITS REVIEWED

AU161203 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 May 83 p 5

[Article by Dr Milos Marko, director of Czechoslovak Television in the Slovak Socialist Republic: "Three Decades of Czechoslovak Television's Efforts" -- words in upper case are published in wide-spaced type]

[Excerpt] Television has found its audience. Just as the development of the radio did not lessen the importance of the press, television, too, is not only one means of exercising influence, BESIDES the radio and the press, but exercises influence TOGETHER with these two media. The coordination and functional differentiation of the individual means of mass information and propaganda are developing.

The number of viewers watching the TV News is up to 7 million statewide (while there are 4,308,000 subscribers and an average of 2.5 people per family). The Aktuality program [a current affairs program transmitted on both the Czech and Slovak national circuits] has an average of 500,000 viewers (while the number of subscribers in the Slovak Socialist Republic is 1,165,000), which is equivalent to the circulation of two or three large daily newspapers.

We are glad that the influence is not one-sided, that our television is a tribune of party influence and of all-people's public opinion, that it reflects the views of the working people. Their direct appearance on the television screens means permament contact and the implementation of socialist democracy.

HUSAK, STROUGAL PRAISE LATE FRANTISEK HAGARA

LD121643 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 12 May 83

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, has sent a letter of condolences to the CPSL Central Committee, the Slovak National Council, the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Slovak Anti-Fascist Union on the death of Frantisek Hagara, member of the CPSL Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council and chairman of the Central Committee of the Slovak Union of Anti-Fascist fighters. The letter says that with his death our society loses an honest man, a Communist, and an important party, state and public official who devoted his whole fruitful life to the work of building socialism in our homeland. Through his active participation in the national liberation struggle and his selfless work in offices carrying great responsibility he displayed a real patriotic and internationalist stance.

Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, also sent a letter of condolences on the death of Frantisek Hagara to the CPSL Central Committee, the Slovak National Council, the Central Committee of the National Front of the Slovak Socialist Republic and the Central Committee of the Slovak Anti-Fascist Fighters Union.

BRIEFS

FOJTIK MEETS CPSU DELEGATION -- Jan Fojtik, candidate member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, received in Prague today a study delegation of the CPSU Central Committee led by Akil Salimov, secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee. The representatives of the two parties exchanged experiences in the fulfillment of the tasks in ideological work, which were set by the latest congresses of the two fraternal parties. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 17 May 83 LD]

MARJAI DISCUSSES CURRENT ECONOMIC SITUATION

LD130854 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1915 GMT 13 May 83

[Interview given by Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai to Budapest Television correspondent Istvan Matko in Budapest; date not given -- recorded]

[Excerpts] [Question] You are often seen at work, you travel abroad, you negotiate, return home, or you speak at workers' meetings. Yet you have somehow avoided television, at least in this direct form. Why?

[Answer] This question is often asked of me by my television colleagues. I have often been requested to appear and I have always avoided doing so until now. I feel some apprehension in fact, because my work is such that I must have a feel for the element in which I am working, and the camera fails to get a proper response from me, at least not immediately. At a workers' meeting one is speaking, speaking freely. One feels immediately if the audience is following, is attentive to one's words, is in agreement, is understanding. The camera does no such thing, so I avoid it whenever I can. Now, I was unable to avoid it.

[Question] The first question comes naturally: What characterizes the country's economic situation at present?

[Answer] This is a rather general question. In practice the answer is given to it by the resolution adopted at the Central Committee session and Comrade Kadar's interview. I do not think that we could add a lot to it. We must say, however, that external conditions, the external conditions facing our economy, are, for the time being, worsening. This can be seen and felt clearly. I believe that along with this, we are increasing our efforts; the leaders, as well as the masses, recognize the tasks necessary to an increasing degree, and so there is harmony here between the two. But it would be a great illusion to believe that now, after a successful Central Committee session, everything will calm down in the world and we are now secure even without further effort. If there is in fact a revival in the world economy -- and this will probably happen to a smaller degree -- it will not mean any immediate and instant relief to us because, you see, the problem is worldwide. If an economy in West Europe or somewhere else in our main markets is moving out of stagnation or recession, then in the first place they turn to those whom they had sofar set aside, their own people. They will reduce their own unemployment, they will put to work their own unused capacities, and we will come only after that. So this period is not going to be easy, not even the period of revival. We have to take into account that while we have not been idle in the past 5 years in this difficult world, our partners, or if you wish, competitors, were also not sitting idly but were using the time to modernize production, mainly the product structure, to prepare for a period of revival.

I want to say that we have talked a lot about a change of structures or a change of product structures, as has been done by our competitors in this period. So we shall now have to deal with stronger world competitors in all markets. Meanwhile, demands are increasing within CEMA and the socialist community. It is clear that they all want from us goods of better quality, greater use, and higher value -- without this they cannot progress either. So this world is not going to be more considerate to us than hitherto.

[Question] The question of questions is therefore: How does our present system of economic conditions meet this series of requirements or system of requirements?

[Answer] To return to what we have said previously, one could perhaps say more simply that the economy has to keep the country. It must keep the country under the conditions we are living with at present. Namely, it is very difficult to remain in the market; it is very difficult to increase our share; there are some burdens we are carrying -- we must reduce the total of our debts, not only pay the interests due but we must reduce, we must fulfill our international obligations; and there are such burdens which simply come from the fact that we progressed with some delay in a period when this was already very necessary. This was mentioned several times and the Central Committee resolution refers to it. So I believe that this is the basic theme from which we have to start and which requires great attention. Not only the country must be kept but our capacity to function must be maintained, because as Comrade Kadar is in the habit of saying, this country, this socialist country must live and function under any conditions, however bad the world situation is or will be; whatever blows we may suffer, we must live, function, and develop. We must maintain our capacity to develop. So we must not manage our affairs in such a way as to prevent possibilities for further advance or to exhaust our reserves.

[Question] So this is a very complicated matter. The country hears a lot about this, there are few people who do not know what solvency is, I believe. This is a continuous process. How do we stand in this respect?

[Answer] Maintaining solvency cannot be separated from what we have been discussing, namely that our economy must keep the country. Now, how must it be kept? As we defined it just now, one has to manage the economy strictly, sensibly -- as they say, rationally -- with much saving of energy, materials, manpower, and all means at our disposal. This is one area of the issue. If we do this, then our situation in the world will improve and our solvency be maintained. If we do not do it this way, then our solvency will weaken, will be vulnerable and maybe will cease. For the time being everything proves that this country is capable of maintaining its solvency, even under the present bad conditions.

This is very significant because the maintenance of solvency is a precondition of our present degree of participation in international relations and possible broadening of this participation. Once our solvency ceases, and if we do not pay interest repayments or installments at the time due, then we are no longer viewed as equal partners in the world; we become excluded from a number of places and conditions are dictated to us. And then, of course, we would have to take a big step backward. We are a country with a sizeable economy and it is for us a condition of existence and further development that we should, to as a large degree as possible, live in this world and create increasingly rational, organized, and, for us, useful contacts.

Concerning solvency, the situation is this: What happened in 1982 was very encouraging. The leadership faced very great trials and struggles and had to make very great efforts, and the negative side of this, the drawbacks, were felt by the country's people and workers. But one has to say that this work was very successful because the country survived an extremely great trial. Beginning with the premier down to the unskilled worker, everybody did his duty and reacted to this great trial as any healthy organism would. A characteristic of a healthy organism is that if it meets with unexpected difficulties it does not lose its head -- this is the last thing one can afford to lose -- but mobilizes its reserves. This is the order of nature. This country reacted this way to the new trials in 1982, and it was a great help, or course, that in practice the implementation of the December 1978 resolution, the guideline of the 12th congress, prepared the country for this crisis situation in being able to react quickly and sensibly to challenges of this sort. Without this it would have been very difficult.

It would also have been very difficult without preceding events; I am thinking not only about the economic direction reform, but more of the party's correct policy during the past 25 years and what our people in this country have produced based on this policy. This has been no ordinary achievement in the international context. I believe we have become stronger, our self-confidence is greater, too, and we can see that, yes indeed, this country can, is capable and ready to give more and to counterbalance every harmful and unfavorable effect.

So we are preserving ourselves, we preserve -- and I am not afraid to say so -- the quality of life, and we preserve our capability of further development and see to it that Hungary will have a better place in years to come than it had in preceding years. We have done a lot and have progressed very much in the league table of nations.

[Question] You mentioned the league table of nations. That can also serve as a cue. I would add -- not because I want to argue -- that the maintenance of solvency depends a little also on our international environment, perhaps more than a little. What is our position now in this field? What is the situation in the world? You have been to a lot of places in recent weeks, months. How do you see CEMA cooperation as being the most important?

[Answer] CEMA is without doubt most important from the point of view of external conditions for us. But it is not the only one. With CEMA, everything we have attained is of major value. It has become built into our life, into the economy, and everything else which we do in other respects is founded on this. This is an indispensible basis and constantly renewing source of our security and our productive capacity. We must maintain it and retain it. We must ensure that it will ensure for us continually more, give us more, increase our resources, even in conditions when other CEMA countries also have identical problems and difficulties. For the rest of the member countries also live in the same world and in addition they are essentially working in the same phase of development, in a phase when further development demands a qualitative change, which, as is well known, requires an extremely large amount of money, or if you like, it demands a lot of capital. It would also need a higher qualified and better paid workforce, raw materials, energy, a good food supply. One could go on listing the conditions.

To ensure this in a relatively short historical period, after the previous period had in practice only created the basic security and the starting basis for further development, quantity is what guarantees for us our life, for us to resolve any backwardness, and be able to progress. So this is a very difficult period. We all live in this period. And here we have to find solutions; we have to find new solutions, which help all of us.

CEMA is a continuously working and operating organization. Even preparations for the highest-level meeting are a continuous process. We hear a lot about this nowadays. I think the preparations are progressing well. On many issues it has been possible to reach a common denominator and, what is very important, we are trying to exploit in the preparation process any possibilties which come to the surface. We do now expect that when the highest-level conference convenes that we will decide on or make progress on all questions. Whatever has now come to fruition we must assert and utilize in the work process. For this reason the timing, in our opinion, depends on when the material is ready for it to result in a qualitive change and to mean a big step forward. Until then we see the preceding work to be useful and successful; I think it will be like that also in the future. Therefore I think that time is not in itself decisive; what is important is this attitude.

With regard to other parts of the world, we have talked about them in various respects and I have referred to them. We must maintain these relations, indeed, we need to extend them. This is not a question of a subjective decision. This is not a question of whether the government decides this way or that, or whether policies decide this way or that. For a country such as ours, with its natural conditions and circumstances, with its historical past and with the [word indistinct] of the economy, a country such as ours needs to have the most wide-ranging international relations. That means relations not only with CEMA but with the other parts of the world, and this we neither can nor want to change.

The point is, we should build up our relations in such a way that they bring about advantages for us, that they help resolve today's tasks, and also remove obstacles from the path of further development. They should, therefore, promote our ability to develop and progress. This is the essence of the matter. And I would reiterate that we have a need for this; indeed, we can neither do without this nor would we want to. However, if I can add to this without sounding immodest, I would like to say that the Hungary that we are at present, or rather the one that we have become, especially in the past quarter of a century, is needed by socialism, the socialist community, Europe, and by the whole world. This is because this kind of Hungary is a stabilizing factor. This applies to both political and economic terms -- indeed, world economic terms -- in international life. Hungary is a stabilizing factor to a greater extent than one would expect from its size. It is a stabilizing factor in East-West relations and its existence and the maintenance of its existing characteristics have a favorable effect in the protection of the achievements of detente and also in the conditions of the struggle for peace. In other words, if peaceful coexistence is to be achieved, and is to be maintained continuously in ever more favorable and humane conditions, there is a need for a Hungary of the kind it already is.

If political stability were to weaken in Hungary, if national unity were to receive any injuries, if our economic balance were to be affected by a major disruption and we could not preserve our solvency, it would then cause serious damages not only to the Hungarian people -- and we justly say that the preservation and strengthening of all this is a national cause and task -- it would the cause by no means small harm to the international situation. In certain respects it could lead to a chain reaction, one that would move in an unfavorable direction. In this regard it is our duty to care for ourselves, but we also have a similar duty toward the fraternal countries and socialism, as well as toward the broader human community. We must be aware of this.

[Question] We can see in what a complex way categories and concept are linked: the national interest with the interest of the citizen, our economic situation with our international position, and in general with the role which you have spoken about. Precisely for this reason I consider this to be a very important question: In what direction is the economic reform going? How will we meet its requirements?

[Answer] Look, socialism is not automatism. At one time, in a very over simplified manner, even my own generation imagined that after gaining power we would march toward socialism with flags flying, brass bands, singing, and naturally with many flowers and much joy. This is not what socialism is and this is not what we were taught, but it is human nature to lean toward that which is more pleasant, more favorable and beautiful. Socialism is not automatism, it is a conscious society where everything must be planned, composed, and organized, where the conditions for this must be secured, and where we must act and work together. As we advance, so must we always make changes.

In the wake of the victory of the revolution, the building of socialism, the road leading toward communism is a series of reforms; what is more, a series of continuous reforms. In every sphere, when a situation has matured, a new step forward must be taken. The way we worked yesterday is no longer enough. It is clear that its forms and organization cannot be good. This does not mean that it was bad in its own day, but that by now there is something else we must do; what is more, it is not enough to do something differently unless it is to achieve greater results. Comrade Kadar put this very well in his speech at the Central Committee and also in his television interview. We must continuously develop and perfect our system of economic management, while preserving the basic principles that have stood the test of time. As he said, this is a problem, a task, which will always be with us. In my opinion this is a very important matter, of which we must be aware. There are periods when this must be accelerated -- when there is a difficult situation; when there is the need to mobilize all our reserves; when we must solve the tasks described by bringing to the fore and giving scope to the creativity, desire for work, and the love of work existing in the people, the workers, the community, all the people. We must find the frameworks and forms for doing this. The reform, the further development of the system of economic management, the perfecting of its functioning, means fundamentally bringing this to the surface, giving it scope.

In the meantime we must free ourselves of certain things. This means that possibilities must be given to everyone to enable us to manage more rationally and intelligently, so that in that system of management everyone should be able to give that of which he is truly capable. This is an extremely important issue, the fundamental issue of the further advance of socialism. This applies to every sphere, management, and workbench alike, to the land, the people, and work collectives. This also means that we must manage rationally, thriftily, well. While it is true that we have done a great deal recently in this respect, it is still not enough. Unfortunately, with a little exaggeration we can say that this country became spendthrift before it became rich; yet a society can only be rich if it learns to manage well and to economize with its materials, energy, labor force, and everything at its disposal. What is more, it can only continue to be rich if it continues in this vein and further strengthens itself. Basically this is what the reform means. Greater rationality, greater organization are needed in management, and possibilities and conditions must be created for greater performance. For this reason we need enrichment of forms of performance. What is needed in this respect is not simplification, but rather that possibilities be expanded, and that various forms do not contradict one another.

What is important is that everywhere there should be an income proportionate to the performance, and workers should share in this: an income proportionate to their performance. Also, all these forms of possibilities should be of a socialist nature. What we have done so far accords with this. Wherever there have occured smaller or bigger distortions, there must be corrections, and I think we will be able to make corrections. In this connection we have many significant tasks to be solved. So, we need different wages and incomes regulation; for this we need another system of taxation. And these are not just slogans. We also need another system of social capital mobility.

Everyone at his workplace should have the opportunity, inside working time, to produce significantly more, and in accordance with this to earn significantly more. And anyone who in addition to this has the willingness, the strength, and the need should also be able to work beyond this, to have the opportunity to work and to increase his income in accordance to this extra performance. So, when we said that the principle of differentiation has to be defended and has to be strengthened in practice, then this is what we are thinking of.

Of course, it is not enough just to proclaim by word; significant changes have to prepared, not in this year but in the coming years, and increasingly we must go in this direction, because when all is said and done this country and this people need a surplus production. And this is a question not only of world outlook, but also a question of existence and a question of development. It cannot be done any other way.

[Question] If we are speaking about differentiation, and if we are speaking about surplus income, then we must definitely also speak about surplus income spending. In the last few years, particularly in the very difficult last year, we managed to maintain the security of supplies. How can we now maintain the security of supplies if surplus income spending is not held in check?

[Answer] For a long time one of the basic elements of the party's policy has been that the level of supply must be improved continuously and systematically. In a period when incomes do not increase, generally supplies on a national scale do not increase; when there is differentiation then its significance increases, strengthens. One cannot and must not take risks in this regard. We must not only strengthen the level of supply, but must also make further efforts to improve it; to improve selection, to improve choice.

The population may have access to products and goods which from time to time come into the country by way of those returning from abroad, or smugglers. When all is said and done, if a person performs more and earns more, then he should be able to spend it on what he wants. Actually, a basic issue of democracy is that it should not be commerce that tells people what to spend their money on -- you can only get what is on the counter at the moment -- but that a worker should decide on what to spend his hard-earned income. This is a basic issue, we cannot give way on this. The 1982 level of goods supply is guaranteed by international and domestic enterprise contracts. We have achieved certain results, but we can even improve here and there. I think that in the course of the year we will be able to advance even further.

So, this is an issue on which we will not yield. If we must be more severe, then we must make more severe the conditions for obtaining income; people would have to improve work quality -- if I may say so, perform more valuable work for the same income. That is where conditions should be strict. In general, and also in the long term, it is my opinion that we must be demanding and strict with ourselves and with each other as workers, as producers, and not as consumers.

[Question] I would like to extend this question concerning supplies, and this not linked primarily with consumers. The view is often voiced that -- what I would call the strict regulations on imports -- create obstacles. What is your view on this?

[Answer] The strict import regulations, which are far more defined than earlier and which are under greater control, are the outcome of the conditions forced on us in 1982. They had to be introduced. For us to remain solvent we had to achieve a surplus in our foreign trade transacted in convertible currency. Now, in a world in which everyone is facing a crisis and everyone is protecting his market and is reducing his imports, a situation arises in which it is impossible to achieve a substantial increase in exports. Moreover, with respect to our most important commodities, prices fell last year and are still falling. So, while it is certain that the increasing and strengthening of the ability to export are the factors that can help us in the long term, nonetheless, we have had to control imports on a temporary basis. And this has, indeed, happened. Naturally, this also produces unpleasant side effects, particularly during certain periods when quick action had to be taken. Our economic organs did not believe that we took all this seriously and they took as their point of departure the fact that whenever difficulties were to be seen, the government or the budget would come to their aid....

[Questioner interrupts].... Or take pity on them.

[Answer] Indeed, that we would take pity on them. However, if we had nothing at our disposal it matters little if we are warmhearted. After all, no help can be given through a warm heart, through good wishes, or crying in sympathy. The situation can only be helped through actions and concrete work. Not every field was well enough prepared for such a situation and this produced minor disruptions. However, it is not necessary that such a situation should arise. Talking in terms of supplies for the population, this should not be allowed to narrow down and impoverish the range of goods available, and I believe we can avoid such problems this year.

With regard to producers, the shocks are being repeated. We know that it is not easy for them to adapt to a modest amount of imports after receiving massive imports. Indeed, in earlier years we viewed imports generously and did not carry out proper calculations. Surveys show that the Hungarian economy was overdependent on imports and this dependence was increasing at a fast rate and exceeding the country's capacity.

The point here is that we must find the correct balance. What we have mentioned here about import controls is all a temporary phenomenon. We have said that it is a precondition for our country's existence and further development, that it should form an ever more integral part of the international economy. In other words, it should establish the widest possible relations, not only in the sphere of goods exchange, but also in production and scientific research cooperation, that is to say, this must extend to all walks of life, including common values. When that happens we can profit the most.

To put it simply, we must take as our point of departure that Hungary, being the small country it is, should produce what it is best at, and for which our conditions, circumstances, willingness, minds, knowledge, skills, and imagination are best suited and can best be asserted. In other words, we must produce what the world needed from us, and what the world values and is prepared to pay for. This leads to the conclusion that we must not produce everything. We must, therefore, be basically export-oriented and we must be export-oriented in these products and, in accordance with this, we need to import everything else. If we can do this, we will not be threatened again by a major loss from a trading imbalance. If we can work this way, and we produce and export what the world needs and what the world values and is prepared to pay for, then an exchange of equal value is accomplished. In such a situation we will deliver products that have a good price and are profitable and, in accordance with that, we will import at an appropriate price and on a selective basis whatever we need. Great efforts are needed for this.

We are not against imports. On the contrary, in the long run there is a need for genuinely justified and necessary imports, for that which we cannot produce more cheaply and better, or, if we can reproduce much more valuable goods with the present labor force and machinery. This is the road toward development.

However, there are certain things which must be preserved. The more serious import management -- which in 1980 became extremely rigourous and merciless -- revealed that we had been a bit spendthrift, and that not only our management of resources had not been in line with international standards; this was also the case with regard to imports. Thrift is not a general concept; thrift applies to imported goods as well. A country which has to import on such an extremely large scale, simply in order to be able to work -- we must import raw materials and energy -- has, on top of what I have just spoken about, the capability of reproducing goods better or more cheaply. In a country like ours this must be taken extremely seriously.

There have been results in this sphere. Rigorous import management is needed not only as regards such important goods as oil -- it is now generally known how considerably we have reduced our imports of oil and oil products during the past 5 years; there has also been a considerable reduction in imports of many raw materials -- but this is something that must be extended to the entire sphere of imports.

There had been a great many unnecessary imports and this more rigorous management revealed ways in which we can manage more rationally and thriftily and in what ways we can reduce imports. This is something we must maintain in the long run -- incidentally, we made great achievements in this sphere in 1981-82. Import management has not only negative, but positive aspects that will exert a lasting, favorable influence. Occasionally compulsion, a compulsive move, also has advantages, and someone who manages well will always find favorable aspects and experiences that can be utilized in the long-term, even during bad periods.

[Question] This approach leads us to another far from simple issue, namely investments and developments. In recent times we have devoted much less time and money to these, and there are opinions -- it is worth stating this -- expressing considerable concern about the future in this context. In other words, they say that we are not doing enough for later years.

[Answer] In essence these worries are justified. However, the given situation exists and we have to make decisions within the framework of the possibilities. The government does not have unlimited scope with regard to a lot of things. If the equilibrium must be maintained -- and for this it is indispensable to keep utilization at home within certain limits, or perhaps even to reduce it, then the government does not have many options. It can reduce public expenditure. We have reduced public expenditure and will also want to rationalize in the future. We want in the long-term to maintain only those institutions which the country, the people genuinely need; we want to reduce expenditure on these to a rational level. We have done a great deal in this sphere. We can, or we could, reduce social expenditure, but this is what we least want to do.

With regard to social expenditure, our entire social policy, in this area we want to provide not less but more for the population. But we do want more rational management of resources because there is spendthrift spending in this sphere. This does not give more to the workers, but merely leads to a waste of resources. We must look into this carefully. But in this area we do not want to make savings. There must be no reductions as regards the health service, education, the provision of social care for those who, through no fault of their own, cannot provide the basic necessities for themselves. We must manage the sums devoted to these purposes in such a way that people in fact receive more out of these funds.

In my opinion we must not touch pensions. We do not want to. In the case of pensions we will continue as before. We must continuously and gradually improve the situation for those on low pensions within the scope of and in line with our financial possibilities -- incidentally, in my opinion, differentiation must also be maintained in this respect. This is also part of the basic principles which we have discussed. There is no question of reducing the higher pensions -- nor would it be worth doing -- or even of changing the age of retirement. This is unnecessary, and not only unnecessary but would even prove harmful. What is more, it must also be said that the government increased pension contributions only because of a compelling situation, and with a heavy heart.

We regard it as only a temporary measure. When there is a new, more up-to-date wages and incomes policy, this will necessitate an appropriate system of taxation -- divorced from the pensions -- a system of taxation which provides for the appropriate contributions to public expenditure and ensures that those with higher incomes participate more in the burden of public expenditure.

These are the limitations which exist; we are aware of them and taken them into consideration. What else remains? There are the other components of the standard of living. We are defending the standard of living and want to protect it. What can we do in this area? If occasionally it should fall -- as happened last year; one hopes that it will not occur this year -- then we carry out certain correcting actions. We want to maintain levels and ensure that the conditions and quality of life will improve, and also that even amid difficult circumstances people should feel content and should be able to improve living standards.

There is one area left, namely investment. This is where a reduction is possible. Well, there has indeed been a significant reduction in investment and it is around the lower limit. However, it must be said that this is still a respectable value in terms of international comparisons; this is still a very large sum, not just a few millions or a few tens of millions. We must make better use of it and this is the duty of all those who invest.

Investments cannot be made in the old-fashioned way. Even at the present time our investments are wasteful, take a long time, and contain many unnecessary aspects. Even today investments by enterprises are not concentrated in the fields where those investments can be accomplished in the shortest possible time and where the cost is repaid most rapidly.

[Question] As for example, export development investments?

[Answer] Indeed, for instance, export development investments. In other words, not something that is notionally directed to that end but is truly an export development investment. So, the amount we devote to investments in this period we consider to be sufficient, assuming that we utilize these means in a sensible way. It must be said that state investments have been limited to such an extent that they apply only to what is most needed, that is to say, whatever cannot be done within the sphere of enterprises.

[Question] It is considered -- and I can prove this -- that you are very strict in your work. More exactly, you are considered to make excessive demands on yourself and your colleagues. Why do you work at such a strenuous pace?

[Answer] I do not know how this question has arisen. In any case, I have already answered it several times. We can only achieve our objectives if we are very demanding, first and foremost, toward ourselves, and also toward our colleagues and our entire environment. This applies, above all, to work. It is decided by our work how we live, what our security is like, what the level of supplies is like, what our services are like, what sort of goods we can obtain, hwo secure family life can be and how we can care for our children and their children. I would reiterate that it is the requirement of today and of tomorrow that we should be strict with ourselves, and that we should make great and increasing demands on ourselves, as well as on each other, at places of work. We cannot do without this. Everything depends on this. This is what I have in mind when we talk about the human factor.

MTI COMMENTS ON NEED FOR AGREEMENT AT INF TALKS

LD171241 Budapest MTI in English 1029 GMT 17 May 83

["Geneva -- Without Illusions; From MTI Commentator Denes Baracs" -- MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 16 (MTI) -- Objective observers are looking forward without illusions to the forthcoming round of Soviet-American talks on European intermediate-range nuclear missiles which is to start in Geneva Tuesday. Optimism itself would be a positive weapon for Washington which is seeking to make such an impression that agreement can be reached on basis of the American position, thus the other side could be blamed for an eventual failure and it could contribute to the appeasement of West European protest. In reality the "zero option" and "interim solution" proposals of Washington have blocked the way for an agreement acceptable by the Soviet side, and the American strategy seems to designate a role to the Geneva forum that is failure should open the way for the deployment of American missiles in Western Europe.

Yuriy Andropov has several times stressed that the "zero option" and the "interim solution" are unacceptable, because both of them would upset the power relations in the field of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in favor of NATO. In addition, the Soviet Union has made concrete steps of great importance towards an agreement by offering to reduce the number of its European intermediate-range missiles to the level of the British and French missiles, and then by responding the counterargument that the so-called SS-20 missile carries three warheads by a statement that it is ready to establish balance with the NATO also in view of the warheads.

From the Soviet side possibility is given for an agreement, but Washington, London and Paris have refused to take the British and French missiles into consideration. At the same time both London and Paris plan to streamline their armament and replace single-warhead missiles by multiwarhead ones in the coming years. It means that an American-Soviet agreement which would not take the British and French missiles into consideration, but would be obligatory for the Soviet side, could make it possible that later the power relations would change in favour of NATO.

The deployment of missiles is to start at the end of 1983, if the United States maintains its non-compromising negotiating position in Geneva. Therefore optimism is not prevailing before the forthcoming Geneva round. However, it does not mean resignation: During the talks there are hopes for agreement and the public can have a greater role in the prevention of a new round of armament.

POLITYKA PUBLISHES RESPONSES TO NOVOYE VREMYA

Rakowski: Divisions Among People

AU171149 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 14 May 83 pp 1, 8

[Jan Bijak interview with Vice Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski: "Divisions and Rapprochements", date, place not given]

[Text] [Question] A year ago on the 191st anniversary of the 3 May Constitution you spoke at length in the Sejm to define the government's policy in the field of science and culture. We propose that our interview should deal with affairs of culture and art. Our first question is: Is your Sejm speech of a year ago still valid?

[Answer] Certainly. During the past year I went back to that speech several times and every time I concluded that I had no reason to renege on any statement I made then. The most I would do would be to expand some of them and to enrich them with observations and experience during the past year.

[Question] We will come back to these statements, but now we want to note that your programmatic speech did not then or at any time later on meet with the expected response of the communities to which it was addressed. We could say that you missed your target. Why was your speech accepted in this and not in any other way?

[Answer] I think that the response to the government's position on science and culture was differentiated. It was positive and negative, depending on political attitudes. I agree, however, with the view that some intelligentsia communities simply failed to ponder on what my speech proposed. There are at least several reasons for this. I will present only two of them. First, the day on which I made that speech was highly unfavorable for what my speech contained. It was on that day that the first demonstrations, actually rows, created by Solidarity extremists developed in Warsaw streets and in the vicinity of the Sejm. Militia units were used to restore law and order. Actually that very day opened a new phase in the country's political situation. What I said from the Sejm rostrum was "overheard" in such a situation. Second, the following weeks and months showed that the creative and intelligentsia communities' averse attitudes proved stronger than we assumed at that time. Briefly speaking, whatever the martial law authorities were doing was at that time more or less rejected by a large majority of those communities. The government proclaimed the policy of the opening but the communities in question responded by withdrawing into themselves together with their views and attitudes. Of course, when I say "community" or "communities" I use certain abbreviations because in reality....

[Question] Such abbreviations and generalizations may be rather dangerous.

[Answer] I agree and I am aware of this. The fact is that the creative and artistic communities were and are divided. The first and basic division is that in the area of ability. There are creative and artistic people who are more or less talented. There are great and famous creative people and there are masses of almost nameless artisans in the arts of writing, acting, and painting. There are famous genuine artists of imperishable value and there are those who become famous because of some fashionable quirk, momentary adulation, and so on. This has always been so and will always be so.

Let us leave these divisions in peace, even though they are related to some extent to the political situation, which is of special interest to me. I have been able to ascertain several times that those who have demonstrated a clearly oppositional attitude toward the policy of the PZPR and the people's power include side by side with the persons who are undoubtedly talented and enjoy authority in their communities, many persons who are disappointed and frustrated and who, dissatisfied with their careers, see their opportunities for fulfilling themselves in oppositional activities.

Let us go back to political divisions. It is a fact that they have always existed to some extent, although it was only through the development of events after August 1981 that they came to the surface and became more pronounced. During the months following the introduction of martial law I met with the fanatical champions of Solidarity's extremist factions who rejected any criticism of their activities and with the determined critics of these activities. I met with convinced advocates of martial law and with ferocious opponents of it. Between these two groups there are people who hold moderate views and who are critical both of the former Solidarity leaders and of our policy. There is also quite a large group of neutral people who, as they say, are not "programmatically interested in politics and who are engrossed in their professional and personal matters. The individual orientations give rise to various attitudes that can be discerned in the practice of daily life. For example, at one end of the spectrum we meet conspiratorial activities and at the other end with public demonstrations of support for the policy of the party and the government. Between these two extremes there is an entire gamut of intermediate, half-way-house, and other attitudes. It is significant that attitudes relating to views of the world are not nearly consistent with political attitudes. You can meet creative people with a Catholic orientation in every political stream.

[Question] Aside from the aforementioned attitudes and views we should note certain specific features of creative communities which relate to psychology, traditional customs, and so on.

[Answer] This is an important addition. The state's cultural policy, whose authors expect that it will be effective, must take these specific features into consideration. They include very frequent instances of highly developed individualism (I, I and once again I), a proneness to exaltation and to exaggerating the events of little significance for our national or state life, a catastrophic view of the world, nation, and state, a high susceptibility to rumor, a slighting attitude toward the facts, an ease of becoming impassioned, and so on.

[Question] I am afraid that my question or rather my statement has provoked an answer that one may assess as the vice premier's aversion to creative and artistic people.

[Answer] This would be yet another manifestation of ill will in interpreting my intentions. I have been closely connected with creative communities for dozens of years. It is true that when I assumed my present post some of my friends and acquaintances -- I stress some -- turned their backs on me, but this does not at all mean that I deem it my duty to paint these communities in black colors. This is not the point because I can also readily list many positive features that are favorable to the development of the spiritual values of every individual person and of the entire community of the nation and to the blossoming of Polish culture -- features such as an enormous sensitivity to what the surrounding world means to creative and artistic people and their ability to discern the moral and social aspects of events that the man in the street ignores or does not at all see. Creative people must have faith in their potential. Very often this faith helps create profound and imperishable works. Even if one's strong conviction of one's worth gives rise to arrogance, wise cultural policy should not note this.

A creative person's high sense of his own sovereignty should be rather taken as a positive feature. He knows that if he creates a work that can withstand the test of time, the fruit of his creative efforts will benefit future generations. And only few of those who will read a creative book or view a painting or sculpture will ponder what kind of policy the state or any other patron pursued at the time of their creation. A sense of sovereignty helps a creative person to be convinced that he is independent. This independence is a positive feature, although we should bear in mind that there is not and cannot be absolute independence. There has never been such -- neither in ancient Greece, nor in the Renaissance period, nor at any other time. Nor is it present in the contemporary division of the world into two opposing systems of capitalism and socialism. A creative person can merely pretend that this division is of no interest to him, but he cannot rid himself of the consequences of this division. For example, it is no matter of indifference or unimportance if a certain writer who lives in a socialist country writes in Paris KULTURA, which is an anticommunist publication and which has for dozens of years occupied an important place in the present ideological struggle between two worlds. Nor is it insignificant when such a writer speaks for Radio Free Europe, which is not only an anticommunist, but an anti-Polish radio station as well.

[Question] Let us dwell for a while on the creative person's independence. If we look at the contradictions and conflicts between the state patron and the creative communities we can see that the most frequent reason for these contradictions and conflicts is rooted in the different interpretation of independence or, if you will, creative freedom. He who is not a member of creative communities and does not enjoy state patronage will ask whether these conflicts could be avoided.

[Answer] I am unable to answer this question unequivocally. Everything depends on the nature of contradictions and conflicts. Even if we assume that a conflict does not have to take place, we must bear in mind that creative and artistic people live in a world that is different from the world of politicians. The thing is that a cultural community and creative work can be an important intermediary between various groups of society because of the specifics of the language, imagery, and argumentation. If a politician or a functionary is unable to establish contact with contemporary living creative work, his failure to do so makes a disastrous impact on his human and political qualities. However, if an artist, writer or movie maker regards himself only as a prophet and not an intermediary who links and does not set apart the various ways of linguistic expression and thinking arising within society, he deprives himself of the opportunity of profoundly influencing social life. The different character of the stuff with which the politicians and the creative people deal produces and reproduces natural contradictions, which may also result in conflict situations. There are times when these situations are inevitable because of the objective course of events and there are times when they are the result of errors committed by this or that side. Of course, there are also situations for which both sides are responsible. The subjective or objective errors to which such situations are due can be very different. For example, a false move may be made because of an erroneous appraisal of the chances and opportunities of the other side and because of the nonappreciation and overestimation of one's own potential; because of excessive individualism; because of the overwhelming desire to impose one's own views on partners; because of a simplified approach by politicians toward the world of creative people and their inner lives and motives that determine their behavior; because of the excessively urgent demands placed on art; and so on. Of course, creative communities can commit the same errors. We should also assume as a certainty that at a time when public life is experiencing violent tremors and when time-honored ideas are collapsing, the base for possible conflicts will expand. Speaking of conflicts, we must not play down the animosities within communities and the groups, persons, and sometimes cliques that fight each other.

One more observation: Disputes, tensions and conflicts among creative people and politicians may produce unfavorable results for both because we live in a world that is full of passions, subjective evaluations, and varied approaches to the role of art and culture. No doubt it would be more useful for the two if no extreme decisions were made in the fire of disputes and conflicts, but rather we should look at them calmly, smothering the contemporary people's natural tendency to exaggerate the events in which they participate or which they witness. We should always bear in mind that what seems to us extremely important today may lose its significance tomorrow. In committing ourselves to various causes and seeking to convince our partners that it is precisely we who are right, we should not forget that there is no progress in the area of spiritual life without contradictions and conflicts. In a word, what we need is a little philosophy of history when viewing the world in which we live and the conflicts which arise with or without our participation.

[Question] A creative person will say that it is difficult to view history philosophically when the power apparatus uses administrative measures against him or his community.

[Answer] I have expected just such an observation. I will be pleased to discuss it, but let me first make a few general remarks. The notion of the state involves the differentiated management and administration of the production and nonproduction areas of life. Those who administer must act in line with the valid laws and regulations and are obliged to apply their enactments in practice. These are the objective "rules of the game." The growing role of the state in public life is also an objective fact. In order to safeguard myself vis-a-vis the guardians of "ideological purity," let me add that the social and economic results of the state's important role are different in capitalism and in socialism. The state's interest extends to the area of culture and art, not only because in the case of the socialist state the state is a patron of the development of culture and art, but also because in the world that has been divided ever since the October Revolution in Russia triumphed those two areas have become the site of an acute ideological struggle. These are obvious truths, but my experience shows that quite a large number of creative and artistic persons, who are outstanding, not so outstanding, and quite average, continue to refuse to accept these truths. They continue to assume a haughty attitude toward the laws governing our public life and to regard the state's every intervention as a more or less brutal violation of creative freedom. Yes, this is true, but have any of those who use this argument pondered the fact that as soon as any kind of patronage is established over art it always expresses certain tastes, interests, and aims of its patronage?

Appreciating the significance of the ideological aspects of cultural policy, I would like to state, however, that the present source of conflicts and tensions is not rooted in that area. Our cultural and art policy follows socialist ideological principles, but implements these principles in other than administrative ways and means. Under the conditions of martial or emergency law, we follow a fully open theater and publishing policy. Foreign contracts are being honored. For example, Jerzy Andrzejewski's "Pulp" ["Miazga"], which had been blocked for almost 10 years, appeared under martial law.

Our cultural policy does not boycott any creative person; rather there are some creative persons who have indulged and continue to indulge in typical political boycott and withdrawal. The reasons for this are purely political and outside the sphere of creative work. After the introduction of martial law, many leaders of creative communities and quite a large number of "rank-and-file" creative and artistic persons took a negative position on that dramatic but necessary measure.

In the subsequent months many of them chose to "withdraw internally." Some people from creative communities joined in militant opposition activities. Pity that this was so because just at that difficult time active participation by creative communities in developing Poland's socioeconomic image could have strengthened the structure of reform, which was being built with such great effort. Unfortunately, many creative and artistic people are still unaware of the dangers that threatened Poland as a result of the anarchy created in our life by Solidarity extremists and of the tough demands created by state interests. Let me add that the communities in question should seriously ponder what kind of tragedy Poland was headed for in the last months of 1981. In his essay published in the Hamburg weekly DIE ZEIT (28 April 1983), Professor Jan Szczepanski thus described the situation at that time: "According to the TRYBUNA LUDU report on unrest in the country, 105 indefinite strikes were proclaimed between 5 and 26 November 1981. This number includes all the strikes that were proclaimed every day and that continued for 1 or several days. Moreover, within the same time frame, strike readiness was proclaimed 196 times and 115 strikes were planned. Various kinds of unrest occurred 50 times. November was a period of burning conflicts.... In that month over 20 cases of various kinds of unrest occurred every day. Each such case was backed by a larger or smaller organizational staff."

[Question] Let us go back,however, to the main subject of our talk. We should ask the question whether the power apparatus did at that time take action that might have increased the creative communities' aversion and even hostility to the political and state leadership.

[Answer] The internment of a small number of persons from creative communities (most of these persons were released in the first months of martial law) certainly did not favorably affect the political attitudes of creative and artistic people but, at the same time, we must see that the use of administrative measures was minimal at that time. Fully aware of the complicated nature of the situation that arose in Poland after August 1980 and of the specific features of the communities in question, during that difficult and extremely complicated period we used the method of conviction and persuasion and we rarely used administrative methods. At every step we renewed our readiness to search for compromise solutions to all the problems of conflict. Anyone who is just a little objective must confirm this. After all, it is easy to visualize a different kind of policy. We have been patient with the actors' boycott of TV for many months. From month to month we have expected that the actors' community will use commonsense and will be solicitous not only of the cultural standards of millions and millions of working people, but also for their own impact on theater policy, which is part and parcel of the cultural policy of the socialist state. Unfortunately, these expectations have proved futile. We have devoted many hours and days to talks with the leaderships of a number of artistic trade unions, suggesting to them that it is necessary to critically revise some of the tenets adopted in 1981 during the enthusiastic and uncritical submission to the policy followed by Solidarity leaders and Advisers. The affairs of policy and not art were at stake. It was our duty in this connection to formulate postulates dictated by the interests of the state. Since the leaderships of artistic trade unions threw themselves into the whirlpool of political life it was necessary to recall the words of one of the heroes created by Andre Malraux: "Politics is not coexistence with dreams. You elect us or them, this or that force. The rest is illusion." I would add that the rest is illusion reinforced by the traditional Polish myths, Messianic concepts, and so on. The policy whose distinctive feature was great patience respect for the personality of creative and artistic people, and efforts to find compromise solutions did not produce the results we expected. Analyzing the attitudes assumed during talks and discussions by the formal and informal leaders of creative communities, I cannot help thinking that the readiness of the highest state authorities to search for joint solutions that would make allowances for the overriding interests of the country in the throes of a severe social and political crisis and for the interests and needs of creative and artistic people were interpreted as a manifestation of weakness, uncertainty, and so on.

In this connection, the leaders of those communities often assumed "positions of strength:" We and only we are right! In this situation the Union of Polish Actors, whose leadership, in any case, encouraged although not quite officially, the continuation of the boycott of television, was dissolved. The Union of Polish Artists in the Plastic Arts was suspended after the fruitless attempts to induce the leadership of the union to postpone for a time the congress that was expected to become a platform for demonstrating an openly oppositional position vis-a-vis the policy of the party and government. As you can see, the authorities resorted to administrative measures only when all other measures misfired. I am convinced that many creative and artistic people will share my point of view.

[Question] Well, managers and leaders of movie teams were dismissed.

[Answer] Yes, they were, but are such jobs for life? Forever? Of course, we must avoid hasty decisions, but we must not view them apart from the situation that arose along the axis of creative communities and state patronage. On the other hand, we must be wary of exaggerating the sporadic facts and events that do not merit it.

[Question] You said at one time that many creative people were offended by the martial law authorities. Let us assume that this was the case, but so much time has gone by since 13 December and so much has changed in the country. Is it then martial law that is a reason for the present troublesome situations along, as you put it, the axis of creative communities and state patronage?

[Answer] I do not think so. There are many other reasons. If we ignore those that will always be there -- I have in mind various disputes and discussions arising around the issue of how culture and art have to be run -- I would see the following unequal reasons hindering the establishment of truly partnerlike relations. There are creative and artistic people who already know that they have chosen the road leading to a blind alley, but they are unable to abandon this road for various reasons, which are often not principled reasons ("What would my colleagues think of me?") Those who have made the choice carefully cultivate their chosen course. Citing Malraux, they have chosen "the other force." Still others continue to wait for some miracle, to live in the world of imagination, to grasp at symbols, to expect some nebulous support from abroad, and so on. However, there are visible, albeit slow, changes for the better, in favor of realism, which should not be played down. After all, despite conflicts and tensions, cultural and creative life continues and work has not stopped.

[Question] What next then?

[Answer] It is necessary to consistently stick to the chosen line of agreement and struggle and to continue to be patient, avoiding the moves that instead of winning people can only supply arguments to those who continue to engage in conscious activities to maintain a high degree of nervousness in creative communities because they are not interested in partnership, but in continued tension. We must be stubborn and persevering in continuing talks with creative and artistic people who for various reasons still stick to the sidelines and are full of various grudges, complaints, and so on. It is also necessary to consistently consult all the major plans and decisions concerning the world of culture and art with the creative communities concerned. In making decisions on the world of culture and science, we must see that creative and artistic people understand the purpose of such decisions. This is difficult and wearisome activity, but it must be performed. The point is that the purpose of these decisions is understood not only by several and some scores of people, but by an ever increasing majority of creative people.

The state's cultural and other policies must be governed by the principle formulated by General Wojciech Jaruzelski that the government works with the curtain up. All our work along the axis of the creative communities and state patronage should be aimed at actively committing the creative intelligentsia to the process of overcoming the crisis. This is our duty. I am convinced that despite the still existing difficulties and despite many unwanted conflict situations, which are unfavorable to our culture, the day will come when most creative and artistic people will abandon indifferent, neutral, and other attitudes and will actively help create and enrich the model of socialist Poland's culture.

Urban: Growing Normalization

AU180830 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 14 May 83 p 5

[Jerzy Urban, government press spokesman, article: "The Pulse"]

[Text] We are between the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth [PRON] Congress and the pope's visit. Where are we exactly?

A temporary situation arose after 13 December. A mood of expectation dominated society. Some people expected, and of course not completely passively, that the balance of forces that existed prior to the declaration of martial law would return in time. Others expected a reconstruction of the year 1981 with modifications, not a faithful reconstruction. Generally speaking, however, they imagined the development of the situation as a return to the state of affairs which gave rise to this situation. They thought that the Army's entry onto the political scene would only serve to eliminate the worst and most avid extremes, which would make possible the implementation of an agreement in the form of a "compromise by three people," which refers back to 4 November 1981. This hope for something which happened in the past, a hope of digging out possibilities which were buried a long time ago, is still alive. Others looked on passively, without any concrete idea as to what might emerge from all this. They avoided any involvement whatsoever, uncertain of what was right and who will win. Still others -- relentless zealots -- attempted to adapt complicated reality to suit their simplified beliefs, maintaining that the people in power are incapable of adapting life in such a way that would suit their ideal of socialism. These people waited for the mysterious policy of agreement and struggle to collapse, and then they would introduce their desired order by force. They were asked what power would they use since they had none. Well, they answered, we will use workers' power and class power, unperturbed by the fact that no one was going along with them except for a microscopic group of ordinary workers.

Waiting for something always means regarding something that is happening as a temporary phenomenon. A person who knows how to measure the pulse of political life in the present exceptionally difficult and complicated period of time will say that this temporary mood is already disappearing. There is no doubt that the political blood pressure has risen in Poland in May 1983. I believe this is the result of a feeling that the line connected with General Jaruzelski's name is beginning to gain the upper hand and is beginning to stabilize itself as a factor responsible for Poland's future. This is giving birth to exceptionally energetic activity by all of this line's opponents. These opponents are reaching the conclusion that the trapdoor will collapse in a moment. This is making them fervently seek suitable ways of influencing the situation in order to reshape the situation according to their own plans. This is all because everyone referred to feels that in a few months time they will find themselves cut off the main stream of events.

So, in my opinion, the rise in political blood pressure in May in Poland is a symptom of progressing stabilization, and not a dangerous obstacle to this process. This optimistic view is inspired by an analysis of the chain of events, and not by comparing events to various paradoxes. The feeling that everything that exists and everything that is happening can be regarded as unimportant because it is only temporary, is passing. Because the situation is becoming stable and the political concept of the country's development is gaining ground, all the figures on the Polish political scene, even those who are not fully active any more, have been seized with fear. They are making feverish movements. The underground is mobilizing itself and sending its supporters into the streets with the feeling that the alternative would be to come out into the open, in other words to surrender. Calm in the streets would mean to them, among other things, the loss of the West's political support and having to make do with the hitherto silent aid of discrete intelligence services. Walesa will suddenly realize that the Zaspa housing district is not Sulejowki but may become a museum showcase. So his staff of advisers are seeking any means to transform him into someone willing to reach any form of agreement whatsoever that would guarantee him any form of political existence. The only thing necessary is to gain a foothold on the ground and rebound, and then once again the road will be open to shaking hands with the authorities and finally to engaging in violent struggle [targanie po szczekach], as Walesa said in Radom. A symptom of the success of the party and state leadership's policy is, after all, the fact that the opponents have been forced to reduce their demands and pretend they are potential partners for agreement. For they know that they can only present themselves well to society in this form.

The circles of people politicking within the church believe that the main reason for cooperating with the state authorities is the pope's visit, since they tend to say that this visit will determine the country's fate. Therefore, they are bent on sharpening relations with the state and are impatiently profiting by the actions of the primate which up to now have been moderate and intelligent. They see no permanent value for the country and the church in agreement and cooperation; these things are only a bargain chip.

The economic situation is settling down and production is slow, but rising. The opposition has no active support from society. The PRON Congress which has taken place does not allow anyone to nurture the idea that this agreement is only an apparition. After all, the trade union movement is developing slowly but surely. A strong, more efficient state is somehow emerging, the fabric of social life is growing, the wounds are healing, the pope is coming, and economic reform is progressing, although with difficulty. Social moods are slowly developing in a direction favorable for the policy of the authorities, and the trend here is definitely proceeding in one direction only. It is the uncompromising opposition that is finding itself in increasing isolation, and not the PZPR. These are the main domestic prerequisites for stabilization in May.

Despite appearances, Reagan's policy is not advantageous for our opposition. It would be far more advantageous for our opposition if the United States were to continue Nixon's policy. Reagan is digging a deep dividing trench between the socialist countries and the West and is antagonizing the interests of both the chief forces of the modern world. He is announcing an anticommunist crusade and advocating a lack of tolerance. He is threatening the following fundamental Polish interests: the biological life of the nation (by means of missiles) and the continuity of the Polish state within its borders. To add to all this, Reagan is acting against our economic interests and speaks out in a way which offends Polish aspirations. For example, he calls the Polish authorities puppets, although the Polish authorities have just successfully demonstrated their ability to solve Polish problems in a sovereign manner. It would be easier for the domestic opposition to hold out if coexistence between East and West and economic, scientific, and cultural exchange continued.

Reagan places Walesa and Bujak in prominent positions, as allies of the policy which clashes with any Polish interests whatsoever. Thus, openly supporting the opposition, and creating slogans and demands for the White House and the Polish resistance forces, the U.S. Government is alienating our domestic opposition from the rest of society and is setting them up in collision with the interests of the state and the people. In other words the U.S. Government is finishing off the opposition politically.

The basic development line of People's Poland since 13 December has the support of all our allies, who are learning to observe the Polish difficulties and distinctive features with patience and understanding, and no longer with unease.

These are what I consider the main prerequisites for stabilization which are causing an outbreak of activity by all the participants in our political scene, with one exception of secondary importance. The leaders of the artistic circles who assumed leadership of these circles after August 1980 are probably the only people who have failed to notice that the train is departing. Since 13 December 1981, they have repeated the historic error which the leaders of Solidarity made before 13 December. They have not shaken the hand that was outstretched to them. And yet this hand was outstretched even further toward the artistic leaders. They failed to support the cultural policy which is as all-embracing as possible and which is the most unifying and tolerant policy possible as far as personnel and programs are concerned. Every policy deprived of the support of those it is intended for always collapses. This happens regardless of anyone's will. By refusing their support and participation, the leaders of the artistic circles are killing the most favorable variant of cultural policy for them. They are proving that a rigorous line can achieve better results. The high priests of the opinion-making circles are really the only people in Poland today who behave the way they did in the past. Unless they pull themselves together, they will ruin the post-December offer of agreement and cooperation which has been made to them in exchange for limiting their political opposition ambitions by themselves. They are wasting their chance, just like the Solidarity leadership did. Maybe they have already done so.

These high priests suffer from illusions concerning their own strength. They are naive to say that their small empires can exist separately from general political trends. However, their destructive force is considerable. For they are not only disturbing the principles of open cultural policy, but they are sharpening the entire course of domestic policy.

This review of the forces hostile to or reluctant to accept the general line which steers the country's life has to be supplemented with a mention of the groups of hurrah-revolutionaries and slogan-addicts. They are also experiencing a period of activity. They regard the progressing stabilization as a good chance for them. Because the post-December policy has alleviated or suppressed the basic conflicts, crises, and antagonisms, they believe that this policy has done its work. Now they think they can inherit the role of this policy and gain victory by narrowing the line of agreement and widening the line of battle. They are not put off by the lack of troops whom they could lead into battle. They think it is enough to load their cannons with paper.

This review of the situation demands a final statement that this periodic outbreak of activity by various forces creating increased political blood pressure will probably soon subside. I hope that the sudden tension will weaken by the fall and that society's focus of interest will depart from the experiences it has lived through and will concentrate on the future and on reshaping its sphere of interests.

Kwiatkowski: Public Opinion Surveys

AU171345 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 14 May 83 p 6

[Witold Pawlowski interview with Colonel Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director of the Public Opinion Research Center: "The Art of Asking Questions"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Colonel, you have been an officer with special functions for years. What kind of special tasks have you had?

[Answer] They were not all that special. My service obligations have covered science, military training, culture, propaganda, and various social problems concerning command. But is this a subject for an interview?

[Question] Let me begin in a different way: Many military men have assumed high civilian posts in the party and the administration on the recommendation of General Jaruzelski.

[Answer] I would warn against looking at history from the point of view of a valet. Hegel has already made a mockery of this sort of outlook. You said that many military men have assumed such posts? Well, I have heard more than once that the only guarantee of disentangling Poland is to install the "general's people" wherever possible. This is an example of a valet's outlook on life. All prosocialist oriented and intelligent Poles should regard themselves as the general's people today. However, the military men who have been referred for civilian service are not passengers on the "personnel trains" [pociagi personalne] that used to travel around Warsaw. The current practice cannot at all be compared to past practice.

[Question] Why do you say this?

[Answer] It would take a long time to say everything. What is most important is that these people are still soldiers. They can be given other tasks at any moment. They are reliable cadres because they have been prepared for the most difficult tasks, for defending the people and state. They have certainly not been selected because of personal contacts in the right places. These are "licensed" professionals, they do one thing today and another thing tomorrow; they are here today and in another place tomorrow. They have been psychologically and professionally prepared for every eventuality. They have been taught this from the very beginning of their service and their training has been aimed at this for years. I would say to a military man that he is available for service [dyspozycyjni]. But this will probably mean nothing to you. At most it might conjure up the idea that a military man is servile and snaps to attention when given an order.

[Question] Yes, and the result is that men under one's command receive corresponding treatment.

[Answer] Well, the stereotypes which have emerged around this issue should be overcome. You see, the Army's real image is different from the one presented by history. A superior officer's order must be obeyed exactly and in good time. This is the only way. But today they explain to every leader from the rank of corporal up that standing to attention and shouting are only effective to a limited extent and up to a certain point. In order to understand this, one has to take a look at what has been happening in the Armed Forces in the last decade; and much has happened. There were to 5-year periods: Let us call one period a planning period and the other an implementation period. Altogether the Armed Forces were extensively tidied up and a number of model solutions were adopted with far-reaching effects in all spheres (concerning cadres, technology, training, social life, discipline, and other areas).

It began to be just like it is now all over the country; each issue was dealt with step by step, paragraph by paragraph, starting with professional regulations and ethics, through orders and instructions, right up to the long-term programs (the cultural development program, the strengthening of discipline program, the principles behind cadre activity, scientific activity development program, and so on). The purpose was to dispel all doubt as to the way things "should be," and to make it known for sure how they "are" and what "has to be done." The point was to eliminate all discrepancies. This led straight to problems with culture. More has been said about culture in the Army than anywhere else during the last decade -- about coexistence among soldiers, about political and technical culture.... It is easy to check on this. I have written a lot on this subject myself.

[Question] Even the most ideological and most enlightened army remains an army because it has been created for specific purposes. Can its experience be transferred to civilian life?

[Answer] Why not? Although the great order concerning regulations, law, and morals does not predetermine what the practice will be like -- it is not enough merely to issue orders on paper -- nevertheless, this order concerning regulations is necessary. This method of action has proved itself, although there have been difficulties. What is important is that every document gradually became valid, after discussions divided into several stages. But no one could excuse himself by saying that he was ignorant of the regulations when he was brought to justice and discharged for being lawless, inefficient, despotic or for misusing his powers. Several gentlemen in these categories "flew" out of the Army, including men from higher positions.

You ask for experiences. These experiences are very appropriate.

Let us consider the classic activities of every commander: making decisions, planning, organizing, stirring his underlings into action and controlling. The situation in the command area is not the best, and certain solutions can be introduced straight from the Army. The situation in our national economy is the worst when it comes to discipline in carrying out orders and effective control. Just look at the way in which these functions are carried out by the people under General Wladyslaw Mroz, chief of the Armed Forces Inspectorate, who are visiting every voivodship in turn, or look at the way in which the commissioners have been carrying out this activity lately. As far as cadre policy is concerned -- instead of cursing the nomenklatura, it is better to solve a problem the way it is solved in the Army. There are principles behind cadre activity which contain everything that is important; it ranges from training school right up to retirement and beyond. It is known who can be a commander, when he can be promoted, what his professional life depends on, and so on. It is said that people and a good set of regulations predetermine everything. Please note how much is being done in this sphere and with what great consistency. I believe that the efforts of General Michal Janiszewski, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, and of General Tadeusz Dziekan, head of the PZPR Central Committee Cadre Department, are aimed at such solutions.

[Question] In a word, the basis of today's ideas of reform and legislation was already formed in the Armed Forces during the last decade?

[Answer] This is an ironic question. Maybe I said something wrong during my summarized answer. In order for contemporary ideas of reform to be progressive ideas, there must be scientific prerequisites. The minister of national defense's ideas have certainly had the support of science at all times. Although the solutions concerning the Army and the state cannot be compared with one another, the scientific basis for reaching the best solutions is the same in both cases.

[Question] Does this sort of attitude not reveal a feeling of self-satisfaction in the Army?

[Answer] Facts may speak for themselves, but the feeling of self-satisfaction does not belong in a person wearing a uniform. Educated military men are there to think about obstacles, about what there is that has to be overcome. They have to live with problems that require solutions and they have to put up with what has to be done. A clerk may tell you why something is impossible, but to a military man nothing is impossible. I myself can see things clearly "in a new light" since I have been carrying out my new function, and people tell me that this is so.

[Question] Is organizing the Public Opinion Research Center your last special task?

[Answer] No. It is my first civilian task.

[Question] Does the center indeed have a vacuum to fill? For there is, of course, the other Public Opinion Research Center [OBOP] whose research has even been referred to in official speeches. We have teams of sociologists, organizational structures, and research potentials. This research potential is not being made use of, but that is another matter. Therefore, is there really such a vacuum?

[Answer] There certainly is. We do not possess an excess of knowledge on society. Ministerial and academic centers are clearly biased; they are something entirely different from the center. As far as the OBOP is concerned, it is naturally interested in receiving radio and television programs and monitoring public opinion.

[Question] How does the one center differ from the other?

[Answer] The same difference applies to them as the difference between the concept "public" and the concept "society." The public is generally a random gathering of people, a gathering of viewers or listeners, something connected with the mass media. When it researches public opinion, the center does not wish to deal merely with opinions on these subjects, without regard to the divisions, conflicts of interest, and class and professional differences that exist. The government cannot remain indifferent to these matters, especially in a socialist state. This applies especially to authorities who wish to represent, and must represent, everyone's interests. Besides, one can say that the center covers the entire country and all professions. We are interested in opinions on everything; what people are experiencing and what the authorities are absorbing.

[Question] Everyone wants to set up a public opinion research center to compete with yours. The Sejm, PRON, and trade unions want to do so. It seems that the Public Opinion Research Center is the seventh institution of its kind to be set up. Is this a fashion? Is it a sign of helplessness because we do not know enough about our society and a sign that nothing is 100 percent sure and proved? Is this a spur to independence activity?

[Answer] The center is not the seventh of its kind. It is the first and is without precedent. It is no surprise that other people would also like to be guaranteed honest and unbiased information. One could find other justifications as well. The worst thing is that a poor man's mentality makes itself felt in this business: the desire to have at last a lot of goods, with no regard to quality as long as the quantity is high. This is how it is in every sector of life, from the production of shoes right up to scientific establishments. This mentality can be best seen in workers' housing: First there is an annex, then a hall, then one room off one wall in this hall and a closet off another wall. In the end, this is costly and not functional. The same philosophy has been applied to building Polish scientific buildings.

They are now planning to add on more rooms to them, one for the government, one for the Sejm, and one for young people. We cannot afford this. I have been convincing trade unionists of the truth of this recently. What is worse is that with this sort of outlook, everything is seen separately and Polish reality disintegrates. Some people are interested in one thing, others in another thing. Some people already specialize in certain kinds of plant life when a lot is still not known about the forest.

[Question] So the center is meant to be a ready-made annex with a floor above it, without any improvisation. Are there plans on how it is to be built and what purpose it is to serve?

[Answer] It is easiest to describe the purpose, but more difficult to say how it is to be built. I was informed of my task in jocular terms: I was to set up a center reflecting my own image. I involved myself in this so much that now I tell everyone: Let your personality and self-confidence be reflected in whatever you do. I seek people and gather equipment. I would like to have a guarantee that honest and enthusiastic people will work here, and that when I leave the whole mechanism will continue to function in the right direction. We need specialists in many fields. I assume that public opinion may be reproduced in a painstaking way, brick by brick. Every opinion poll adds a new brick, but does not present a full picture. That is why opinion polls on many levels are being planned, using many different ways and means. That is why the organizational structure is so varied and there are so many different departments and teams.

[Question] What sort of departments and teams, for example?

[Answer] Besides a department dealing with public opinion polls, which are typically sociological and long-term and are repeated from time to time, for example, the polls designed to reflect the consciousness of the workers' class, we have departments dealing with emergency opinion polls on government decisions, an important new document, a speech. Besides these there are departments for coordination and cooperation with other centers. We are obliged to analyze what the others are doing and order various polls. We have a press analysis department, we have a national and regional press, and we will shortly have a factory press, too. We are establishing a department for analyzing letters written to central offices and institutions. This is excellent informative material which up to now has been lying unused in office pigeonholes. We also have an official telephone, which from a methodological point of view is a source of information as suspect as seeking random samples of people from a telephone book. But it does enable us to maintain contact with people every day. Every pressing matter makes itself felt -- this and this is happening to coffee; that and that is happening to severance pay. Information given over this hot line gets through to the premier as well.

[Question] So?

[Answer] Let us omit private matters, which can be settled. People tell the authorities interesting things; there have been interesting ideas and the appropriate person was obligated to make a professional assessment. There have been matters which brought immediate results.

[Question] Let me tell you that during the seventies, the office of factory sociologist was very popular. Many young and enthusiastic people joined industry then. Their purpose was equally respectable: to get to know industry and people, what they are like, and what they think; how to govern in a more up-to-date way, better, more intelligently and more humanely. This office practically went bankrupt.

[Answer] To be honest, I have no comment to make on this matter. I have the impression that a technocratic approach might have interfered here. As we know, reform demands that savings be made. And since a sociologist does not produce and does not make money, he is a burden on the distribution assets, so the simplest solution is to get rid of the "unproductive" and troublesome sociologist. Clever capitalism has recognized the meaning of relations between people and the social services since the thirties.

[Question] Is the center a government institution?

[Answer] I am aware of its specific situation. There is no doubt that it is a service institution. It plays a servile role vis-a-vis the state leadership and the authorities, but it also wants to preserve and must preserve its scientific nature and thus carry out its research objectively and honestly. This in turn guarantees that the center will not take sides in a dialogue between the state leadership and the community.

[Question] Are you not afraid that the center -- instead of encouraging decisions -- may serve to gather extra opinions necessary to reach a decision, which in any case will be made without your participation?

[Answer] This I fear the least. If we are setting up such an institution, it is not for the sake of an alibi, but to make an alibi completely unnecessary. Our research will also precede decisions, so that there is no question of gathering more opinions. Besides, if it is possible to be this certain, why remain in ignorance? It is obvious that the authorities must also learn to make the most of this chance.

[Question] In turn, the center's social importance, regardless of the form of the work carried out in it, will be a measure of the confidence society has in the authorities. It will be difficult to measure this confidence in terms of percentages, even for the state today, but this confidence is still not excessively large. Am I right?

[Answer] Yes, our credibility does not depend so much on the government as on the citizens who have been polled, and on how honestly they reply to our questions and cooperate with us. The center only became fully operational a dozen or so weeks ago, and we are well aware that no easy life is in store for us. Nor can I imagine activity proceeding according to the following pattern: The authorities make an order and the institute obeys. Of course we do note such orders, but I repeat that the authorities must also learn to make use of the center. They must learn to ask questions. The point here is not to reply to every question asked by the authorities. Some of the questions we have been asked caused merriment during the latest meeting of the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee. It is necessary to give real substance to the appearance in offices that everything which ought to be known is known. This ignorance has to be laid bare. The entire scope of activities is only just being born. It will take shape and there are bound to be teething problems. There will be teething problems especially when results do not correspond to the universal understanding of what society is like and what it desires. In turn, it is worth informing and showing society that it is not a monolith, it is a complex structure of group, professional, and class interests which often clash. Government decisions, especially the emergency, crisis, and difficult decisions, do not satisfy everyone because they cannot do so. The authorities must know at all costs what the situation with various classes and groups is. They must be aware of whom these decisions will affect, because it generally happens that someone is badly affected and is defenseless. Therefore they must know whom to protect, with whom to cooperate, whom to tolerate, and whom to condemn. They must monitor the conflicts of various interests that exist throughout the entire complex structure of society.

[Question] Let me give a fresh example. Several months ago, an opinion poll was taken in a large shoe factory to find out what workers think about wage controls and what sort of wage controls they want. The craftsmen were assembled. The asked: Will wage controls be the way the work force decides? Basically, no, they were told, the point is merely to hear suggestions. Then leave us alone with your poll, they said. People are becoming more and more skilled in detecting activity that is done for appearances' sake.

[Answer] We are also dealing with the subject of wages, in the meantime in work places in Warsaw. People are treating us in a very friendly manner and are eager to talk to us. However, not many people believe that their opinions will ever change anything and they doubt whether our reports will be useful. People are rather more interested in pay increases than wage controls and the plant managements would like complete freedom of action. And people believe that when the managements have this freedom of action, everybody will have good earnings. It is clear that we are going to have to work a long time to gain trust and to make people willing to confide their opinions to us. But it is facts that count. I know how these matters have been handled in the Ministry of National Defense. There were no important decisions which were not backed up by opinion polls. There are documents to prove this. A whole series of correspondence, a quarter of a million complaints and letters every year, was analyzed twice annually and formed the basis for many decisions. This is where the habit of using opinion polls comes from. One can dispel all doubts as to our intentions.

[Question] What do you see as the greatest danger to the functioning of the center?

[Answer] Not so much a danger as a difficulty, an internal difficulty of our own: How to prevent the forming of artificial opinions and how to mirror real problems, and not merely what seem to be problems. This is a question of having the precise tools of research, and of the orientation of our specialists who draw up the question forms. Direct contacts with the social circles being examined, letters from people and our telephone, in particular, are very useful here.

[Question] The curse of our opinion polls is the snail-like tempo in which they are processed. Today's fat quarterly reports with the results of research carried out before August and showing that everything is in order are grotesque.

[Answer] The data processing base at our disposal serves as a guarantee for our efficiency. It ought to be our own base, but this costs the most, and we have to count every penny. In time we will work faster.

[Question] Are you not afraid of other difficulties, for example, coming into conflict with existing arrangements?

[Answer] This fear is experienced by a person who has happened to climb up a crumbling ladder and is shaking with fright because it might collapse at any moment. I do not have much to lose and I have very much to do. My professional motto: Do the best I can. The commissioners will tell you about the arrangements when they come back from the field. Arrangements are fortresses of immunity from punishment and carelessness. Fortresses were justified in the last century.

[Question] Does the center plan to investigate the role of the Army after 13 December, the way people see the Army, its popularity, and so on?

[Answer] We can think up dozens of topics, but we have to decide on something. The Public Research Institute of the Military Political Academy does not specialize in this and we do not wish either to relieve them of their work or double it. Besides, it is too early to make such an assessment of th Army; let emotions subside first. The most important factor for us is the opinion of the workers' class, which does not mean that we ignore the opinion of other circles. However, the voice of workers should be heard everywhere in the country. We must not diminish the value of informative talks held at short notice between the state leadership and workers. Comprehensive polls are necessary.

[Question] Thank you for the interview. I would like to know whether the results of the center's research will be public property, or whether they will contain the remark: "Confidential -- for official use"?

[Answer] What is there to hide? The fact that there are differences in opinion and that conflicting class, group, and professional interests are making themselves known? I regard the shaping of society's knowledge of itself as one of the most important tasks for the next few years. The center wants to be active with propaganda and try to establish firmly the idea of national accord and bring the government point of view and society's point of view closer together by showing the meaning of the government's activities against the background of the differences in interests and the clashes of interests.

GORNICKI ON POLAND'S POSITION IN WORLD POLITICS

PM131343 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 16/17 Apr 83 p 3

["Abridged account" by Krzysztof Matlak of speech by Major Wieslaw Gornicki at 7 April meeting of the Szczecin Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) Popular Political University: "It Is Not Enough To View Polish Affairs Through Polish Eyes Only"; editorial annotation states that the text of the speech is "unauthorized"; the first two and the last paragraphs are editorial commentaries; passages in uppercase are published in boldface]

[Text] Attempts to secure Major Wieslaw Gornicki's participation in a meeting of the Szczecin PRON Popular Political University took several months, but eventually they were crowned with success. On Thursday 7 April the Anna Jagiellonka Hall in the Pomeranian Princes Castle was full to bursting. No one who came to the meeting was disappointed. Wieslaw Gornicki spoke -- fascinatingly -- on the interdependence of the Polish and world situations. The adviser to General Jaruzelski presented a vivid picture of the menace contained in the continued arms buildup being spurred on by the United States. He also answered, in fine style, several dozen different questions ranging from topics of fundamental significance to personal gossip. The best proof of the success achieved by the guest of the Popular University was the fervent applause he received at the end. And we all know very well that it has been a long time since high state officials were regularly pampered by receiving applause.

This account of the "castle meeting" is of necessity considerably abridged and does not convey the atmosphere created by both Wieslaw Gornicki and the participants in the meeting. The text is unauthorized.

In my opinion, one of PRON's functions is to make us all join forces in order to learn the Polish way of thinking, Wieslaw Gornicki began. I am of course thinking of two-way communication. I suggested to the organizaers here that we broach a subject which is closely connected with my own special field:

POLAND AND THE WORLD. It is a subject well worth taking up because, throughout all our Polish troubles and afflictions, a national characteristic that has never left us since the end of the 18th century has made itself known with particular force and intensity. I would call it the provincial character of Polish thinking. Very often in all our considerations we ignore the fact that Poland's population represents less than 0.8 percent of the world's population and that we are not even ranked among the first 30 of the world's largest countries. Aside from that, we have the worst possible situation from the military viewpoint and, finally, we do not take into account the fact that WHATEVER GOES ON IN POLAND IS ONLY A PART OF THE PROCESSES TAKING PLACE THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE WORLD.

That is the essential point of departure for all our considerations. We are weighed down by our troubles, our injuries, and our crisis. But this does not exempt us from taking into account the processes which have been occurring on a worldwide scale for the past 10 years but have become particularly acute during the last 2 years. I am thinking here first and foremost of economic phenomena. I do not know whether everybody realizes that THE LAST 2 YEARS HAVE BEEN THE WORLD'S WORST SINCE 1930. For the first time national income on a worldwide scale fell by 0.2 percent in 1981 and by more than 1 percent in 1982.

It looks as if the world is about to enter an altogether new and different epoch. This is signaled, among other things, by the close of the golden 1960's in the development of the capitalist countries. That, in turn, is connected with the final closing of the era of cheap energy. All the wealth of the capitalist countries was based -- notwithstanding the organizational factor and the element of high productivity -- on the exploitation of the colonies at the beginning of the century and, in actual fact, on cheap energy after the war. There are forecasts indicating that the world is about to face its fourth industrial revolution, which will be related to automation. Such a revolution would result in a complete and radical change in the structure of the industrial societies. It is therefore extremely unlikely that, with an incredibly high increase in productivity, it will ever be possible to reduce unemployment to single digits. These are social problems, but also economic ones, that no one is prepared to tackle.

I do not hesitate to say that THERE IS A COMPLETELY NEW PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF THE HUMAN RACE APPROACHING NOW, AND THIS IS ASSOCIATED WITH MODERN MILITARY TECHNOLOGY. I do not wish to unduly occupy your attention with an overabundance of technical detail -- which is slightly macabre when considered from one viewpoint, but also infinitely fascinating when considered from another. But I must speak about one thing with which we in Poland are going to have a very close encounter and from which there is no escape regardless of one's views. This mainly concerns the fact of the introduction of the so-called cruise missile into the equipment of NATO armies stationed west of the Elbe. For 30 years after the last war the development of missile weapons continued along parallel lines in the United States and the Soviet Union. All their missiles were designed within a single overall construction system. They were all ballistic missiles -- that is, they were all subject to the laws of universal gravitation. Thus, antimissile systems could be effectively deployed against them.

The cruise missile, which beginning in December is to be deployed in West European countries, represents the abandonment of thoese 30 years' work on the development of missile weapons and a return to the starting point. The cruise missile moves at a speed of 800 km per hour -- that is, lower than a supersonic airliner. It can fly at an altitude of between 4 and 40 meters above ground. It is not a ballistic missile but one that is self-guided, with two flight programs. The first one is determined at the launch point (range 2,200 km).

IF SOMEONE WANTED TO DESTROY THE CENTER OF SZCZECIN, a submarine resting on the bottom of the North Sea could, for example, fire such a missile in the direction of Rome, then redirect it to go over Odessa and from there to, say, Kaliningrad, and only then target it on Szczecin. Its flight path can be deflected an infinite number of times. In consequence, there is no way in which this missile can be destroyed. The second flight program is composed by the missile itself. Its electronic system works fast enough to be able to process the information provided by the sensor and program the movements of the steering device. The missile corrects the altitude of its own flight when it encounters obstacles. It can carry a conventional explosive payload, an atomic payload, or a neutron payload. All this is very complex, but unfortunately these concepts are part of the vocabulary of our contemporary politics. Yet another feature of the cruise missile is that it is very cheap to make. It costs about $1 million apiece. In comparison, a leopard class medium battle tank costs $11 million.

Last year, $637 billion was assigned for military expenditure throughout the world. The U.S. military budget for the current year amounts to $228 billion. Allowing for the costs of inflation, U.S. MILITARY SPENDING IS NOW TWICE AS HIGH AS IT WAS AT THE HEIGHT OF THE VIETNAM WAR IN 1967. The sheer scale of that sum is beyond the reach of human imagination. There is nothing to indicate that they might be coming back to their senses either. In fact, the phrase itself is not appropriate here, since it presupposes madness and insanity, while the whole thing is a very precisely calculated policy on the part of the United States, characterized by several distinctive features. FIRST, the paramilitary character of the U.S. economy, which makes it different from that of any country in Western Europe. SECOND, the full awareness of the fact that it all puts a very serious strain on the Soviet Union, and, to a lesser degree, the socialist countries in Europe. The USSR spends 1.5 percent more of its national income on building up than the United States, and that is because it needs to compensate for the lag in its electronic development. Last year the lag was estimated at 6 years. In December 1982 Yuriy Andropov announced the Soviet Union's readiness to produce its own cruise missile. This indicates that the time lag has rapidly diminished. If the Americans begin deploying their new generation missiles in Europe in December of this year, then the Soviet Union will have no alternative but to take up the challenge. U.S. standards specify that 100,000 cubic meters of concrete are required to accommodate one nuclear warhead. And this is only for storage! And so those 100,000 cubic meters of concrete will not find their way onto the civilian market. THIRD, the extreme intensification of the economic rivalry between the leading capitalist states. Please consider the fact that there is more justification today than ever before for asking the question: Who really won World War II. You only have to take a look at Japan's and the FRG's economic indicators. There is no precedent for the intensity of the fierce competition put up by the combined EEC forces against the United States. At this moment it borders on technological and economic warfare. And thus, IF THE RATE OF THE ARMS BUILDUP CONTINUES TO BE ACCELERATED, IT WILL MAKE IT THAT MUCH EASIER TO MAINTAIN THE DOLLAR'S STRONG POSITION AGAINST OTHER WESTERN CURRENCIES AND TO REDUCE THE VIGOROUS GROWTH RATE OF THE WESTERN COMPETITION. There remains one other distinctive feature, connected not so much with Reagan himself -- as he is a fairly primitive character -- as with his White House advisory team. At the present moment this groups men who, at best, possess the mentality of small storekeepers. This is deeply alarming, and not only to us here: It is the cause of profound anxiety among experts on the United States' East Coast. These experts realize that international politics cannot be conducted according to the principles of an ideological crusade. For example, not so long ago Reagan was actually capable of stating that communism constitutes the incarnation of Satan himself and therefore it is every Christian's moral duty to fight communism.

I have spoken at such considerable length about the United States because in all this naive thinking -- as I called it -- that we practice we very often take no account of things that are essentially outside any ideological considerations.

THE CRUISE MISSILES WILL NOT BE EQUIPPED WITH IDEOLOGY SENSORS AND THEY ARE NOT GOING TO SELECT FOR THEIR TARGETS THE FOLLOWERS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC ALONE WHILE AT THE SAME TIME STEERING CLEAR OF SUPPORTERS OF THE OPPOSITION.

It is obvious that, owing to its crucial strategic situation, Poland is the number one tactical warfare zone. It is hardly surprising that the number of targets chosen by NATO states on Poland's territory is continually increasing. Several years ago it was 450. Now it amounts to some 1,250. I should think there are a couple of places here in Szczecin which have missiles earmarked for them. Moreover, the accuracy of today's missiles is beyond the bounds of imagination. We must, of course, take into consideration the fact that Poland is regarded as an instrument in the worldwide plan. I hope we are not going to be taken in by those 38-plus hours of programs beamed into Poland by the Western states, for they are programs for the naive. IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS IT IS FIRST AND FOREMOST THE NAKED, BRUTAL, EXPOSED FACTS THAT MUST BE CONSIDERED. And it is in this that the U.S. policy toward Poland after 13 December is to be examined. Several things happened at one and the same time then.

Poland played the role of a typical [military] foreground. And what to do with the foreground is one of the things taught in any military college even to reserve officers. If a division is scheduled to cross a river the following day, then the reconnaissance officer will do everything in his power to facilitate the future operations of his own troops on enemy territory. He will blow up the bridge, spread gossip, recruit informers. Together with western Czechoslovakia, Poland is expected to be the area of the first tactical encounter. Therefore simple reasoning dictates that it is necessary to dismantle whatever is susceptible to being dismantled.

From NATO's viewpoint something really nasty happened on 13 December 1981. After all, even with every allowance made for all the necessary reservations, Poland represents 36 million people and an area of more than 300,000 square kilometers. And yet it was demonstrated that it is possible to carry out an operation there that was executed with lightening speed and planned by the headquarters with perfect, watertight, infallible logistics, moreover; it was carried out in such a manner that the American Embassy only found out about the introduction of martial law at 0415 hours -- that is, 4 hours and 15 minutes too late. This resulted in incalculable complications for the extraordinarily numerous network of agents -- perhaps not always involved in spying, but nonetheless active in a quite similar capacity -- existing in this country. It all forced NATO headquarters to undertake a thorough revision of its superficial views on the subject of the field efficiency of Warsaw Pact armies and their political reliability. Next question. Owing to its specific character, Poland was indeed intended to serve as a starting point for the dismantling of the remainder of the socialist bloc. It was not we who invented the whole concept of dismantling. In a speech delivered on 19 July last year Reagan said that Poland was the beginning of the end of communism. The events of 13 December resulted in thwarting the delicately planned American operations in Poland. And so it was decided to teach us a lesson -- mainly through the use of sanctions, designed with unparalleled malice and aimed with unprecedented precision. I will quote one example here. Last year, I think it was in March, the entire Polish automotive industry was suddenly faced with the threat of production stopping owing to a shortage of v-belts. V-belts are made of rubber, and there is no problem with this, as we buy it from Third World countries. Rubber, however, has to be hardened. The hardening agent needs a miniscule quantity of a chemical component added to it, and we had been importing the latter from France for the past 25 years. Four times each year we would receive two or perhaps four barrels of this product. After 13 December the French manufacturer returned to us the money we had paid him back in November (including even a minute amount of interest) and announced that he would not sell us the said product again.

Our embassy in Paris investigated the matter, and the Frenchman told them what it was all about. At one point he received a surprise visit from the commercial attache at the American Embassy in Paris, who told him: "You are selling such-and-such a product to the Poles. If you do not stop doing it, you will lose your right of entry to the American market." The Frenchman had been selling, say, $100,000 worth of his product to Poland and $50 million worth to the American market. So he told us quite openly: "I like you, but I cannot give up my American trade." There are very many similar examples. Corn for chickens; the broken fishing rights agreement in the American fishing zone; the broken aviation agreement. Over a fairly long period we managed to bring about complete clarity [przejrzystosc] of our economy. [sentence as published]

A VERY FAR-REACHING REEVALUATION OF OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND INTERDEPENDENCIES HAS TAKEN PLACE. For example, the French chapter, which had lasted 20 years, has come to a close. It is true that France did not apply the restrictions, but a number of its moves we could have done without. Virtually all the achievement of De Gaulle's political thought has to all intents and purposes already been squandered. France has again become a part of NATO. All this is taking place very slowly, accompanied by ingratiating and false simpers.

On the other hand, we deal with countries which are behaving quite correctly even though we would not have expected them to do so. I am thinking here of the Benelux countries, Scandinavia, and, to a certain degree, Italy, Spain and Portugal, and -- most astonishing of all -- the FRG.

But this is too good to be true. Let me direct your attention to one particular point. Since 13 December 1981 not one of Premier Jaruzelski's speeches has failed to contain, indeed to persistently reiterate, the following phrase: IN OUR OPINION THERE EXISTS MUTUAL INSEPARABILITY BETWEEN THE YALTA AND THE POTSDAM AGREEMENTS.

We need to think carefully about the meaning of this sentence and to reflect on the reason why it is being repeated with such persistence and following the same formula. The idea did not occur previously in this form of expression even in the speeches of Wladyslaw Gomulka, who was exceptionally sensitive to German questions.

Let us take another look at the European scene. We will notice the transformations which have taken place since the Final Act was signed in Helsinki 7 years ago. I myself wrote several commentaries on that, but they were pathetic: too high-sounding and over optimistic as if the Helsinki Final Act meant something like a peace treaty for Europe. Whereas now we are observing an obvious regression in Europe in all spheres -- political and military, economic, and social. All these changes are also taking place within our community. When we talk about the connections that exist between our own affairs and international relations and interdependencies, we really must not underestimate them. The Polish press reported the speedy start of the construction of the Kaliningrad-Rostock ferry link. Our country will lose R400 million each year in transit charges on that enterprise. But then can we blame the GDR and the USSR for preferring to build a ferry link rather than carry out sensitive transit operations over Poland's unreliable territory? Let us remember that their decision was taken in 1980. POLISH AFFAIRS SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED EXCLUSIVELY THROUGH OUR OWN EYES: IT IS NECESSARY TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION ALL POSSIBLE VIEWPOINTS.

If we use such fine words as identity or pluralism, there is real meaning in it all, and I think that we are going in that direction. But it can only take place under the conditions provided by a properly functioning state system, with the state free from the dangers which, in my opinion, have never accumulated around it more clearly since the 18th century.

After he finished speaking, Major Wieslaw Gornicki was bombarded with a multitude of questions. I estimated their number to be around 30. To give our readers some idea on the subjects broached, I will give here a dozen or so examples which, in my opinion, testify to the open character of the meeting. The gues speaker of our Popular University answered almost all of the questions at considerable length. Therefore, let all those who did not come to the Pomeranian Princes Castle on the afternoon of 7 April regret their absence. Here are some of the questions: What was the extent of the contribution of Gierek's team to the dismantling of our economy and the socialist state? Why did Mieczyslaw Moczar and Jerzy Wojtecki leave their posts? What is involved in the job of being [Jaruzelski's] adviser? What happened to Mieczyslaw Jagielski? What about the question of Poland joining the IMF? What possibilities are there for a resumption of normal principles of travelling abroad? What is the state of relations between the Soviet Union and Poland in the sphere of politics and economics?

POLITBURO EXAMINES SOCIAL ASSOCIATIONS

LD171854 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 17 May 83

[Text] The Central Committee Politburo has been acquainted with the report on the activity of associations. It was stressed that in several hundred national social organizations and in several thousand local organizations there are many millions of associated citizens who have been united by the wish for social action and civic service.

The Politburo, guided by the directives of the Ninth PZPR Congress resolution, declared itself in favor of the creation of universal legal, material, and organizational conditions for the further development of the association movement. It is recognized that associations can play a significant role in the process of national accord and socialist renewal. By engaging in the struggle against the signs of social pathology they can help to create a climate of moral demands and bring their experience into the process of shaping socialist principles of communal life and interhuman relations and the functioning of institutions of socialist democracy.

The Politburo believes that the natural platform for civic action of members of associations, regardless of their world outlook and views, constitutes participation in the work of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] and support for its ideals and aspirations. It was stressed that the consolidation of social character and improvement of interorganizational democracy have been favored by the frequently confirmed and guaranteed principle of organizational self-management and independence. Specific needs of individuals and groups, the variety of views, and the right to seek and experiment also require unity in action in superior issues for the interests of the socialist state. The party will agree to all new constructive initiatives, will give appropriate aid, and will ensure through its members in associations that no initiative will be lost.

The party will also firmly oppose attempts to abuse associations for extra-statutory activities of an antisocialist nature. The Politburo has defined the recommendations for party echelons and branches on initiating, assisting and cooperating with social organizations.

The Politburo examined the current political and educational situation in higher schools and problems related to the students' living and study conditions. The meeting stressed the importance of the social and ideological education activities in academic circles and the role of the student movement in the promotion of ideological and civic stances.

The meeting referred to attempts to exploit some university colleges for activities against the process of stabilization and socialist renewal, which are glaringly at odds with the act on the tasks of universities, which are supposed to educate and provide socialist education to students in accordance with the PPR Constitution. The elimination of these activities is in the most profound social interest, including that of the universities themselves and of the didactic, scientific and educational tasks entrusted to them.

The Politburo confirmed that the youth organizations -- the Union of Polish Students, the Socialist Polish Youth Union, the ZMW, the Polish Scouting Union operating in schools of higher learning, together with the academic sports association and the students self-management, offer full opportunities for the satisfaction of the needs of the student environment and for the expression of the sociopolitical aspirations of the broadest circles of students. They are also confirming in the academic circles the youth movement formula elaborated at the Ninth Central Committee Plenum.

The Politburo has convened the 12th Central Committee Plenum for 31 May this year.

GOVERNMENT PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES ECONOMY

LD172117 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 16 May 83

[Text] We have received a communique on the work of the Government Presidium:

The Presidium assessed the functioning of industry, and the material-component supply for the economy. In 4 months, sold industrial production, in comparison with the analogous period of last year, was more than 10 percent higher, and in comparable time of work it was 9.2 percent higher. This means that the economy is slowly overcoming difficulties, and the resurgence which began some months ago, is acquiring permanent features. The supply of fuels, materials and components to the economy has been recognized as a matter of fundamental significance. Ministers were pledged to ensure the planned production in these areas. The imports of centrally balanced materials will be maintained at the determined level, in spite of payment difficulties. Instructions were issued on assigning additional hard-currency funds for the purchase of components for the production of paints and varnishes.

Considering the varying degrees of implementation of production plans, the chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission was pledged to verify the balance of fuels, materials and components, from the aspect of the need to secure the implementation of the main tasks defined in the Central Annual Plan.

Attention was drawn to the need to manage employment better. This concerns, in particular, the redeployment of employees to those areas of the economy that feel the lack of them and, at the same time, implement the most important production tasks with respect to social needs.

The need for better coordination of the tasks planned in the enterprises with those established in the Central Annual Plan was stressed. It was recognized that the central organs ought to have greater possibilities for exerting an influence on economic relations in the enterprises in accordance with the mechanisms of the reform being implemented.

The debates continue. Also on the agenda are the issues of protecting mining terrains and the activity of the state railways.

POPE RECEIVES GLEMP; ITINERARY FOR VISIT ISSUED

LD172158 Warsaw PAP in English 2108 GMT 17 May 83

[By PAP correspondent Miroslaw Ikonowicz]

[Text] Vatican 17 May -- The Vatican press office, Sala Stampa, published today an official itinerary of Pope John Paul II's visit to Poland which is to take place from 16 to 23 of June. Also today, the pope met at a private audience here the Polish primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, and members of the Polish Episcopate visiting the Vatican in connection with the last preparations for John Paul's visit to his homeland.

The publication of the detailed programme of the visit, made at the same time in Warsaw and the Vatican, raised great interest of Western news agencies.

They are at one in their opinions that nothing can now stand in the way of the pope's trip to Poland.

PAP Version of Communique

LD171813 Warsaw PAP in English 1440 GMT 17 May 83

["Communique on the Itinerary of John Paul II's Visit to Poland" -- PAP Headline]

[Text] At the invitation of the Polish Episcopate and of the state authorities of the Polish People's Republic, on 16 June 1983 the holy father, John Paul II will arrive in Poland on a 1-week visit.

The apostolic visit of the holy father has a religious-pastoral character. It is a pilgrimage to his homeland on the occasion of the 600th anniversary of the presence of the miracle-working image of the Most Holy Virgin of Czestochowa at Jasna Gora.

The route of the pilgrimage will lead via the main routes of holy, Marian sites, dear to our nation. The church and community of Poland, the church and state authorities, are preparing to receive John Paul II worthily and cordially, as the head of the church and as a great patriot.

It is the joint intention of the church and state authorities that this pilgrimage by the holy father should bring permanent benefits not only to the church and to the entire community, but to our state too.

The program of this pilgrimage has been agreed and endorsed by the holy father.

On Thursday 16 June, at 1700, the holy father and his party will arrive in Warsaw aboard an Alitalia plane. At Okecie Airport, John Paul II will be welcomed by representatives of the highest Polish authorities, led by the chairman of the State Council, Professor Henryk Jablonski, and by the diocesan bishops headed by the primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp.

The holy father will travel in a special car to the Arch-cathedral Basilica of Saint John the Baptist, where he will celebrate a solemn holy mass for the late primate of the millenium Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski.

From the cathedral the holy father will proceed for a brief prayer to the Sanctuary of the Patron of the Capital, the Holiest Gracious Virgin Mary, from where he will go to the residence of the primate of Poland.

On Friday 17 June at 1000, John Paul II will meet in Belwder the representatives of the supreme Polish authorities.

Next, the holy father will make visit the church of the Capuchin Fathers at Miodowa street, where rests the urn containing the heart of King John III Sobieski. At 1300 there will be an ecumenical meeting in the residence of the primate of Poland. A meeting will be held with the senate and professors of the Catholic Lublin University in the residence of the archbishops of Warsaw. At 1730, at Blonie, next to the Tenth Anniversary Stadium, the holy father will celebrate a solemn Holy Mass and will deliver an occasional speech to the faithful, pilgrims of Warsaw, Lomza, and Drohiczyn Diocese.

On Saturday 18 June at 0930 the holy father will arrive in Niepokalanow to pay tribute to the founder of the town of the Immaculate Saint Maximilian Maria Kolbe. He will celebrate a solemn Holy Mass for Saint Maksymilian and will deliver an occasional address to the faithful.

The holy father will arrive in Czestochowa at 1700 and, after visiting the cathedral, will drive along Krakowska Street and Aleja Najswietrzej, Marii Pany to the Jasna Gora sanctuary. After a Holy Mass presided over by Father Cardinal Jozef Glemp, the primate of Poland, at 2000, John Paul II will meet young people from all over Poland and deliver an occasional address to them. At the hour of the Jasna Gora appeal, the holy father will give an apostolic blessing to those gathered.

On Sunday, 19 June, the central jubilee celebrations at Jasna Gora will take place. At 1000, together with delegates of the invited foreign episcopates, John Paul II will celebrate a solemn High Mass and will deliver a jubilee speech.

At 1600, after a Holy Mass celebrated with Cardinal Franciszek Marcharski, the Krakow metropolitan, the holy father will conduct the coronation, with papal crowns, of the following miraculous images: the Most Holy Zieleniecka Virgin in Kielce diocese; the Most Holy Brdowska Virgin from Wloclawek diocese; the Most Holy Lubaczowska Virgin from the Lubaczow archdiocese; the Most Holy Virgin of Peace in Stoczek in the Warmia diocese.

At 2100, after the singing of the Jasna Gora appeal, the holy father will give apostolic blessing to Czestochowa inhabitants assembled at the summit.

In Czestochowa, the residence of Pope John Paul II will be the Josna Gora monastery. On Monday, 20 June and Tuesday, 21 June, he will depart from there for the celebrations in Poznan, Katowice, Wroclaw and St Anne's Mount.

On Monday, 20 June, at 0930, the holy father will arrive in Poznan from Czestochowa. He will conduct a solemn Holy Mass on the meadow of the Park of Culture, the Debinskie Legi, and will deliver a commemorative speech to the faithful of the Poznan archdiocese and of neighboring diocese.

At 1600, after visiting the archbishop of Poznan at his residence and visiting Poznan Cathedral, the holy father will depart by air for Katowice.

At 1730, John Paul II will arrive in Kotowice at Na Muchowcu Airport, where he will take part in a solemn Marian Mass, and will deliver a speech before the miraculous image of the Piekarska Virgin.

At 2030, after visiting Katowice Cathedral, he will depart for Czestochowa.

On Tuesday, 21 June, at 0930, the holy father will arrive in Wroclaw.

At the Wroclaw Hippodrome, he will conduct a solemn Holy Mass and will deliver a commemorative speech to the faithful of the Wroclaw Archdiocese and of neighboring dioceses.

During the Holy Mass, the coronation will take place of the figure of the Madonna of the Snows.

At 1600, after visiting the Wroclaw Metropolitan at his residence, and after visiting the Wroclaw Archcathedral, the holy father will travel from Bem Square by helicopter to St Anne's Mount.

The holy father will arrive at St Anne's Mount in Opole Diocese, where on the square adjacent to St Anne's Sanctuary, he will take part in solemn Marian vespers and will deliver a speech. Next, he will crown with papal crowns the miraculous image of the Opole Madonna.

After visiting the Basilica, St Anne's Sanctuary, he will fly to Krakow at 1915. After the welcome at the Krakow meadow he will go to the residence of the Krakow archbishops.

On Wednesday, 22 June, after a visit at 0815 to his alma mater, the Jagiellonian University, the holy father will go to the Krakow meadows where, at 1000, the central beatification Mass of the venerable Father Rafal Kalinowski, Carmelite monk, will begin.

At 1700, in Mistrzejowice in Nowa Huta the holy father will celebrate a consecration Mass for the newly erected church dedicated to Saint Makysmilian Maria Kolbe. Next, in the Royal Basilica of Wawel Cathedral the holy father will be present at the conclusion of the provincial synod of the Krakow metropolis.

On Thursday 23 June at 1630, the farewell ceremony for the holy father will take place at Balice airport in the presence of highest state authorities and the episcopate of Poland.

John Paul will depart aboard a Polish Airlines Lot plane for his return trip to Rome.

CZYREK ADDRESSES PARTY LECTURERS ON U.S., POPE

AU161451 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 May 83 p 2

[PAP report: "The International Situation: The Subject of a Meeting of PZPR Central Committee Lecturers"]

[Text] On 12 May the international situation was the subject of a meeting of PZPR Central Committee lecturers in Warsaw.

Characterizing the state of international relations, Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Central Committee secretary and Politburo member, said that the policies of the United States and NATO countries are currently being dominated by a course of mounting confrontation.

This is displayed by the departure from the fundamental principles of international relations and the return to the policy of force and the so-called ideologization of international relations. It was this course which posed the greatest threat to postwar international relations.

The USSR and socialist countries are opposing this trend with proposals and initiatives for peace which are modeled on the documents signed at the meeting of the advisory Political Committee of the states of the Warsaw Pact in Prague and the declarations of Yuriy Andropov, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other Soviet politicians, as well as the leading representatives of socialist countries, J. Czyrek said. These proposals can be called the peace offensive of the USSR and the socialist countries.

In the recent past, J. Czyrek pointed out, we have noticed new signs of an aggravation in international, particularly East-West, relations. This is reflected in the lack of any progress in the talks being held by the signatories of the CSCE Final Act in Madrid and, above all, in the U.S. arms buildup and the United States' consistent stand on the question of the deployment of new types of missiles in western Europe. We also continue to witness the West's object-like treatment of our country's affairs. On the initiative of the United States, western countries have now adopted the concept of an evolutionary road toward the so-called Polish issue, a road which is supposed to lead to a return to the situation that existed in our country prior to 13 December 1981.

Speaking of the prospects for international relations, J. Czyrek stated that a continuation of the confrontational course of U.S. policy during the eighties must be taken into account since it is a strategic policy line. Combating these threats, socialist countries will become defenders of the peace, will fight for disarmament, the return to the policy of dialogue, detente and international cooperation.

J. Czyrek referred to the approaching visit of Pope John Paul II to Poland, saying that the position of the party and the government on the visit will remain the same and was clearly presented in Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski's last speeches. Preparations for the visit continue in accordance with plans, and various organizational matters are being discussed. J. Czyrek pointed out the importance of the success of the pope's visit to Poland for the further normalization of the country's affairs.

J. Czyrek replied to many detailed questions that particularly concerned foreign policy, the activities of the party and the situation in the country.

CHURCH-STATE FRICTION MOUNTS OVER POPE'S VISIT

PM171338 Paris LE FIGARO in French 13 May 83 p 4

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Tension Mounts Between Government and Church"]

[Text] Warsaw [no date given] -- As the date of the pope's visit draws nearer it is becoming increasingly clear that, as it was not difficult to foresee, it will be a kind of double or nothing for Poland. It may certainly be "the visit of hope for the nation," as the Polish bishops said recently, but there are also great risks of seeing its hopes dashed, and that would create a state of frustration in the country which would likely become explosive.

Indeed, three dangers are to be feared:

1 -- The tension between the church and the state might worsen on the eve of the visit: This growing tension is in the order of things. The government, prey to attacks from party "hardliners" in Warsaw and neighboring capitals, must try to demonstrate that the agreement given for the pope's arrival in no way means capitulation to the opposition or an open approach to the revisionist factions. It is thus stepping up attacks against the use of religious buildings for political purposes, for instance, not to mention, of course, action by uncontrolled commando groups like the one against the Franciscan sisters' convent.

But the church is in a similar situation; it must show that the pope's intention in coming to Poland is in no way to legitimize the military government or to stop defending the rights of the citizens and the nation -- hence the pope's appeal for an amnesty and the demands on the same subject by the episcopal conference, even if the former, like the latter, is expressed in moderate terms without being presented as conditions to be fulfilled before the visit.

Tension is nonetheless mounting, and, paradoxically, relations between the church and the state on the eve of the holy father's visit are likely to be worse than they have been for a long time.

2 -- Incidents might occur during the visit: While the 1979 visit had seen Poland become itself again and marked the start of a vast national upsurge, this visit may be regarded by some of the population as the end of a dream, the final burying of the hopes of 1980-1981. This visit would then be one of dangerous despair. Incidents would revive the cycle of repression, and the effect would therefore be diametrically opposed to what is sought. The church, like the government, will make every effort to avert those dangers and should succeed, but they exist.

Divisions

3 -- Inadequate results from the visit could cause immense frustration: The country as a whole is virtually expecting a miracle from the visit of "its" pope. There will be no miracle. So how will it react?

Moreover, the objectives sought by the church and the government are very different. For the latter the aim is to break the Polish authorities' international isolation, to give them new status, and, finally, a government minister told me, "to finally close the transition period following the Solidarity era and to make the population understand that they must no longer turn toward the recent past but must unite to build a new socialism which will be the socialism of what is possible."

Is this a sufficiently inspiring vision for the country? Moreover, there are also different views within the government in this sphere. Some are hostile to the visit, others want to use it to the maximum but go no further than that in cooperation with the church. Yet others hope that it will serve as a springboard for achieving a moderate liberalization characterized by wider and permanent cooperation with the episcopate, a development of the government's foundations, and a speeding up of the structural reforms.

The same divisions exist within the church, and government spokesman Mr Urban is thus able to condemn, in the latest issue of POLITYKA, some "pseudopolitical circles within the church" which want cooperation with the state to go no further than the visit and "are thus now urging a tougher line toward the state and the hasty use of the cardinal primate's undertakings which have hitherto been full of moderation and caution."

The state itself will not fundamentally change its "policy of accord and struggle" even after the visit. A prominent government figure told me, for instance, that to prevent dangerous illusions the government "will hit out at the opposition before and after the pope's visit."

WARSAW REPORT ON REAGAN NEWS CONFERENCE

LD180852 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 18 May 83

[Text] We begin the foreign news from the news conference by U.S. President Ronald Reagan. Over to our correspondent for a report. Here is Maksymilian Berezowski, speaking from Washington:

At his first news conference for 3 months, which ended today at 0230, President Reagan called upon Congress to finally endorse the plan to build the new MX intercontinental missiles. Reagan tried to link this appeal with the barely credible assurance that he is striving toward arms limitation.

The installation of the MX is being sharply criticized by influential American politicians, and threatens the strategic stability of the world.

Many questions concerned the budget deficits caused, among other things, by the record military expenditure. These deficits threaten the revival of the economy of the entire West. The President did not give satisfactory replies to these and other questions.

His explanation concerning intervention in Nicaragua was greeted with ironic laughter. Attempting to explain why the United States is carrying out such intervention in a covert fashion, through CIA actions, and not in an entirely open way, Reagan retorted that his administration desired to observe the law.

Reagan rejected the suggestion of inviting the USSR to participate in the peaceful stabilization of the Middle East. At the same time he confirmed his willingness to sell a larger quantity of grain to the Soviet Union, justifying this by the need to restore to the United States its reputation as a reliable supplier.

The president gave the impression of being unprepared to give exhaustive replies to some questions. His appearance was certainly conceived as yet another salvo aimed at Congress, with which he is waging a battle for the shape of the budget, and even more, for the division of power.

DAILY ON HU YAOBANG VISITS TO ROMANIA, SFRY

AU161450 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 May 83 p 4

[Tadeusz Bardzo commentary: "The First Journey"]

[Text] The recently started journey of CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang through the Balkans has now reached its halfway mark. Hu Yaobang has already visited Romania, where he had political talks with the leaders of that country led by the secretary general of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the republic, Nicolae Ceausescu. The CPC leader is currently in Yugoslavia, where a number of meetings have also been planned with the country's party and state leaders.

Hu Yaobang's European journey is particularly worthy of attention for a number of reasons. It is, above all, the first official journey of the general secretary of the CPC since he took office in June 1981. It has come about after a number of important events in Chinese affairs which predetermined the crucial changes in China's internal and foreign policies. The most important feature of these changes was the departure from the principles of Maoism, which were in force in the PRC for over 20 years.

The visit of Hu Yaobang to Romania and Yugoslavia is, of course, the last in a series of contacts between the party leaders of these countries and the Chinese leadership. Bucharest has been maintaining good relations with Beijing for many years, and Belgrade revived them on the political level in 1977, a year after the death of Mao Zedong.

There can be no doubt, however, that the talks of the secretary general of the CPC with Romanian and Yugoslav leaders are taking on special significance in the light of the recent political measures toward an improvement in Sino-Soviet relations. An assessment of the chances for the impending friendly relations between both socialist countries is an important part of the talks in Bucharest and Belgrade.

It is also necessary to examine in this light the official visits of representatives of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, announced in mid-May, to the other socialist countries of Europe.

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES CSSR'S KUCERA, GDR'S GERLACH

LD172004 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 17 May 83

[Text] Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, has received Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia, and Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of States, who are paying an official visit to Poland at the invitation of Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the SD Central Committee and deputy premier.

Current problems of cooperation among Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR, some issues of the further development of cooperation among the SD, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, and also the activity of these political groupings for the cause of peace and security in Europe were discussed.

BRIEFS

GDR JUSTICE MINISTRY DELEGATION -- A delegation of the GDR Ministry of Justice headed by Hans-Joachim Heusinger, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of justice, has paid a visit to Poland. Talks were held on the judicial policies of the organs of justice of both countries. Opinions were also exchanged concerning the state of preparations for the eighth conference of justice ministers of socialist countries, scheduled to take place in Havana next year. Hans-Joachim Heusinger and Minister of Justice Sylwester Zawadzki signed an agreement today providing for further development of cooperation between the Polish and GDR Justice Ministries for the years 1983-1985. It has been decided to expand the exchange of experiences in the development of the legal system and in administration of justice. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 17 May 83 LD]

ANDREI MEETS VICE PRESIDENT BUSH IN WASHINGTON

AU171829 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 17 May 83

[Text] U.S. Vice President George Bush received Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei, who is paying a visit to Washington at the invitation of Secretary of State George Shultz, at the White House. On behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu, the guest extended greetings to President Ronald Reagan and best wishes for personal health and happiness and for the U.S. people's peace and progress. Thanking the guest for the message, the U.S. Vice President asked him to extend to President Nicolae Ceausescu warm greetings and best wishes on behalf of President Ronald Reagan.

During the meeting the sides expressed satisfaction with the upward course of relations of cooperation between Romania and the United States based on equality and mutual respect. They expressed the desire of the two states to further expand Romanian-U.S. ties, particularly in the economic field. The sides also exchanged views on certain topical international issues and expressed the desire to develop cooperation between the two countries at the international level in the interest of resolving the great problems facing mankind and for the benefit of the cause of peace, detente and cooperation among all nations.

The Romanian foreign minister also met in Washington with Lawrence Eagleburger, undersecretary of state for political affairs, and Alfred Kingon, foreign trade assistant at the Department of Commerce. During the talks the sides discussed concrete aspects of developing Romanian-U.S. relations and certain international issues of mutual interest. The Romanian foreign minister also met with Senator Jessie Helms and with Helmut Sonnenfeldt, former State Department counselor.

CEAUSESCU DETAILS ROMANIA'S MIDDLE EAST POLICY

AU141849 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1745 GMT 14 May 83

["Interview Granted by President Nicolae Ceausescu to the Saudi AL-MAJALLA Magazine" -- AGERPRES Headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 14/5/1983 -- In this interview, almost entirely devoted to the Middle East Situation, Romania's president answered questions related to:

-- Romania's relations with the states in the area.

Romania declares for and maintains relations of collaboration with all world states, regardless of social system. In this spirit, she has maintained relations with both the Arab countries and Israel.

We have always declared against war, for the solution of the problems in the Middle East -- and in fact in all the regions of the world -- only by negotiations. We took a firm stand against many of Israel's military actions, especially against its aggressive actions in Lebanon, but we think that if conflicts occur between certain states, other states should not break the relations with one side or another but should act for putting an end to the conflicts, for contributing to their negotiated settlement. This is the spirit in which we have acted in the relations with the Arab countries and Israel, too.

As regards the situation in the Middle East, it has really worsened after Israel's military actions in Lebanon. That is why we consider that everything must be done for the undelayed withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon, for the observance of Lebanon's integrity and sovereignty, as a condition for the creation of that framework favouring a global solution in this region of the world.

Romania intends to continue acting for the solution of the problems between Israel and the Arab countries by way of negotiations, maintaining and strengthening the diplomatic and other relations which she has at present, and, if possible, developing suchlike relations with other states, as well.

-- Peace initiatives

Greater efforts were made after the events in Lebanon for a global peace in the Middle East.

The initiative and proposals of the Fes Arab summit which make up an outstanding programme are part of these efforts. In fact it was for the first time that the Arab countries clearly supported a negotiated solution which, in my opinion, opens up the prospects for a settlement of the Middle East problems. There are also President Reagan's and other proposals, including those for an international conference.

It appears a way has to be worked out to implement these proposals, and this calls for the initiation of talks among the parties concerned and, by all means, for the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole representative of Palestinians.

We greatly appreciate the constructive position of the Palestine Liberation Organization, its talks with Jordan's King Husayn, and it is our opinion that they may continue to come to an agreement.

President Reagan's proposals would be far more comprehensive if they included the Palestine Liberation Organization in the talks. How that could be achieved is a question to which an acceptable solution could be found; but, whatever the form, the Palestine Liberation Organization cannot be left out. I think that this is the main problem that must be solved to get out of the present situation.

Romania does not intend to take part in these negotiations, but in its relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization, with the Arab countries, with Israel and other states it will do its best to provide a framework for negotiations that is acceptable to all sides.

Certainly, we are for a U.N.-sponsored international conference, but whatever the framework of the talks, it ought to be accepted by the parties concerned, first of all, and -- I say it again -- provide for the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

We believe that everything possible should be done so that a global solution be found providing at least for a start of negotiations this year.

-- Jordanian-Palestinian negotiations and Reagan's plan

Now, after I met Chairman 'Arafat it is my impression -- I may say even belief -- that the Palestine Liberation Organization, Chairman 'Arafat are willing to reach agreement with King Husayn.

President Reagan's plan could play an outstanding role provided it is improved to include the Palestine Liberation Organization in the talks, but, I say it again, account should be taken in the talks of the proposals made by the Arab countries in Fes, and of other proposals that may be advanced during the talks.

-- Ways of settling the Middle East situation

Romania has always been for a negotiated settlement of the Middle East problems. We assessed the Egyptian-Israeli meeting and negotiations as important for the Middle East peace process. It is true that although these talks only solved the question of the Sinai and of the Egyptian-Israeli relations, they are an important element in the Middle East peace process nonetheless.

However, outstanding questions were left unsolved, including the essential one -- that of the Palestinian people. We are firmly for Israel's withdrawal from the territories occupied in the 1967 war, for the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, to independent statehood included. It is our view that peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved as long as there is no independent Palestinian state. Of course, a durable peace must also provide for Israel's right to exist. Therefore, it must have as its basis an independent Palestinian state and the State of Israel -- between which good neighborhood and cooperation relations develop. Such a solution, peace on that basis serves the interests of all Arab countries.

As I have said, we think a just solution can only be found by way of talks, of political negotiations between the parties concerned. As a rule, we have supported direct talks between the sides concerned, because life has shown that nobody can find better solutions to problems, no matter how complicated they may be, than the parties concerned. For a start of the talks -- I have already said it -- there are the proposals made in Fes, the American proposals, other proposals that may be a basis for a passage to the settlement of problems.

Now, an organizational framework must be worked out. We are of the opinion that a U.N.-sponsored international conference would be possible and acceptable to all sides. Anyhow, action should be taken to open the talks. No solution can be found unless the parties concerned agree to sit down at the negotiation table.

I do not think that a prior settlement of the question of the Palestine Liberation Organization's recognition of Israel, or of Israel's recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization is absolutely necessary. This mutual recognition should be the outcome of negotiations, of an agreement on the recognition of the Palestinians' right of self-determination and statehood, of the right of both the Palestinian state and of the State of Israel to exist. To ask for the recognition in advance actually amounts to setting preconditions, and this can only delay the start of negotiations.

Romania has always supported and would welcome formal contacts between the United States of America and the Palestine Liberation Organization. I say it because, by various other -- informal -- channels, contacts were made between Palestinians, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the United States of America. But the present deadlock should be overcome and formal dialogue opened. In that respect, it is my opinion that the Arab countries could play an important role. This could pave the ground for negotiations on a Middle East comprehensive solution.

I would like to say it again that, in our opinion, if an international conference were called, all countries concerned should attend, the United States of America, but also the Soviet Union. Account should be taken of the fact that, under the present circumstances, a global solution cannot be found unless the Soviet Union, other states and the United Nations Organization took part, one way or the other.

An international conference sponsored by the United Nations could more easily overcome resentments -- on both sides -- and enable the parties concerned, primarily Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, to sit down at the negotiation table. I think an important role could be played by the Arab countries in achieving an adequate framework to get the negotiations started.

I sent an envoy to Prime Minister Begin to discuss bilateral questions but also the Middle East problems, the present very serious, tense situation. There is no specific Romanian initiative. What I have in view is that Romania should make efforts, along with other states, to surmount the present difficulties and help a passage to a negotiation settlement of the problems.

-- The stage of Romania's relations with the Arab countries

I may say that Romania's relations with the Arab countries are good, with some of them even very good, although, for the time being, we do not have diplomatic relations with some countries, Saudi Arabia included. We are highly appreciative of our relations with the Arab countries. Certainly, we think that these relations should be underlain by the principles of equality and non-interference in internal affairs as well as by the need for a broad collaboration in the independent socioeconomic development of the respective countries, by the necessity of doing everthing possible for negotiated settlement of all Middle East problems, inclusive of the Iran-Iraq war.

Asked whether Romania plays a role in the reestablishment of the relations between Egypt and the Soviet Union President Nicolae Ceausescu answered:

Romania has always declared for the improvement of interstate relations, therefore of those between the Soviet Union and Egypt as well. Yet, I cannot say that we act in any way in the relations between these two countries, as they do have relations and direct meetings.

Nevertheless we will hail the re-establishment of relations of collaboration and friendship between the two countries, which we consider very important.

Answering a question related to the place the Soviet Union holds in Romania's relations with the socialist countries, the Romanian head of state said inter alia:

I must state that the relations with the USSR hold an important place in Romania's collaboration with the socialist countries, considering Romania's neighborhood with the Soviet Union, the traditional relations between our countries and the fact that, from an economic point of view, the Soviet Union places first in Romania's international commercial relations. These relations are also an outcome of the fact that we are members of CMEA and the Warsaw Pact. In Romania's activity as a whole, we have always paid special attention to the relations with all neighbors, as in fact I think all the states do.

I am repeating it, in this framework the relations with the Soviet Union play a particularly important role and we pay them all our attention.

P. MATIC DEPARTS FOR SYRIA, PDRY VISITS

LD172310 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1835 GMT 17 May 83

[Text] Belgrade May 17 (TANJUG) -- Member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidency Petar Matic left today, Tuesday, on visits to Syria and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Matic's visits are being held as part of the LCY's traditionally good inter-party relations and cooperation with the Syrian Ba'th Party and the Yemen Socialist Party.

A comprehensive exchange of views and informations is expected to be made during the visits with the Ba'th and the Yemen Socialist Parties' leaderships on the activities of the LCY and these parties at the internal and international levels, on bilateral relations and on scme current international issues.

BANK OFFICIAL HOLDS ECONOMIC TALKS IN IRAN

LD170956 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0713 GMT 17 May 83

[Text] Tehran, 17 May (KUNA) -- "With greater involvement by our economic organizations, taking into account especially the soundness and quality of their products, favorable opportunities exist for increasing exports to the Iranian market," Metod Rotar, chairman of the board of management of the Ljubljana Bank, told TANJUG's Tehran correspondent. Rotar ended his 3-day visit to Iran today. On behalf of the Ljubljana and Belgrade Associated Banks he had talks on banking and financial-monetary cooperation with the representatives of the three biggest Iranian commerical banks. Together with the SFRY ambassador to Iran, Edward Kljun, Rotar had talks with Dr Hoseyn Namazi, minister of economy and finance; Mohsen Nurbakhsh, governor of the Iranian Central Bank; and with Kazempur-Ardabili, deputy minsiter of foreign affairs.

During the talks, attention was paid mostly to the functioning of the trade agreement between the two countries which is being conducted through the banks. On the basis of this agreement, signed by Rotar and Namazi, Iran has been delivering oil to our country for several years now, while Yugoslav enterprises export to Iran industrial products, equipment, and other goods. It is estimated that commodity exchange this year will amount to about $600 million and that there are realistic prospects of this rising to $1 billion within the next few years. A favorable assessment of the possibility of developing Yugoslav-Iranian economic relations was also given during Metod Rotar's talks with our country's businessmen in the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy mission in Tehran.

PRESIDENCY, LCY PRESIDIUM HOLD JOINT SESSION

LD172331 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1630 GMT 17 May 83

[Text] Belgrade, May 17 (TANJUG) -- Individual [words indistinct] of Yugoslavia's social, economic and political development were discussed at a joint session by the Presidency of Yugoslavia and the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia today, Tuesday.

The same session also dealt with socialist society's tasks in implementing the set goals, particularly in the field of developing and strengthening national defence and social self-protection.

LCY'S MARKOVIC SPEAKS ON ECONOMY, ENEMY ACTIVITY

AU161915 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 May 83 p 3

[D. Drazic and Z. Djordjevic report]

[Excerpts] Nis, 12 May -- The awareness of the fact that association, linking, and integration represent the basic issues of our future development has now matured in society. It is now understood that it is no longer possible for everyone to develop on his own, but that we must all together create through association the prerequisites for the further progress of our society. The LC's role in overcoming narrow particularist interests and in associations based on the Constitution is irreplaceable.

This was stated by Dragoslav Markovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in his talks with the sociopolitical aktivs of the Nis electronic and machine-building industries.

In his talks with the Nis sociopolitical workers, the member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium announced that the Kraigher Commission for the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Measures would finally complete its work in June. The very next month the SFRY Assembly delegates will consider these measures. What is involved are very great changes in the economic operations and for this reason it is now planned to form a working group which will be charged with the task of consistently ensuring the implementation of the adopted long-term economic stabilization measures.

It can already be said that this is the last year in which economic operations began without the conditions set by the current economic policy being known. In the future, the working people in associated labor will know as early as September or at the latest October what awaits them in the coming period and will have all the pertinent information, ranging from the growth rate of production to taxation.

"We have a very highly developed modern economy and the fact that the conditions of economic operations change every 3 months and that new measures continue to be issued constantly can no longer be tolerated," Dragoslav Markovic said.

Speaking about exports as a long-term task, Dragoslav Markovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said that in addition to the foreign credits which our country should obtain it is also necessary to find the funds within our own economic system to credit our exports. As regards the foreign credits which are expected to be granted to our country, we expect that the first loans will begin to be used in June of this year. The funds which our country will obtain in this way are not small. Improving our work as well as intensifying our orientation to exports in the second half of the year, we can count on a somewhat better economic situation. Some of the foreign credits will be used to build new agricultural production facilities to improve the supply to our cities and enable our country in a few years to become a more significant exporter of food and agricultural products.

Supplying the population must not be the only concern of the agricultural organizations. Like all other work organizations, they, too, must primarily strive to earn the highest incomes possible. To improve supply, in the future every individual commune will have to plan its own economy much more effectively and, on this basis, conclude long-term agreements for the supply of the most essential products and, at the same time, create its own material reserves, something that to date, only the federation and, to a lesser extent, the republics and provinces have practiced.

In his talks with the Nis sociopolitical aktiv, Dragoslav Markovic also pointed out the directions of solving the very difficult unemployment problem in Nis and in other Serbian cities and further afield.

[The following two uppercase passages are boxed-in within the body of the report and are printed in boldface]

ENEMY IS RAISING HIS HEAD

SINCE ITS FORMATION, YUGOSLAVIA HAS CONSTANTLY BEEN A TARGET OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ENEMIES. RECENTLY, THESE ENEMIES, PRIMARILY THE FORCES DEFEATED IN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR, THE CHETNIKS AND THE USTASHAS AS WELL AS SOME OTHER LIKE-MINDED PEOPLE SUCH AS THE BALLISTS IN KOSOVO WHO ARE NOW THE MOST ACTIVE, HAVE CONSIDERABLY INTENSIFIED THEIR ACTIVITIES. REGARDLESS OF THEIR RENEWED ACTIONS, WHICH HAVE ALMOST NEVER CEASED DURING THE ENTIRE PERIOD SINCE THE WAR, WE DO NOT NEED TO ATTACH SOME KIND OF SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE TO ALL THIS BECAUSE THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY SITUATION IN OUR COUNTRY IS VERY GOOD. JUST AS THIS HAS BEEN TRUE UNTIL NOW, OUR MOST IMPORTANT TASK IS TO CONTINUE TO STRENGTHEN THE LC, THE SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, THE FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, THE FEDERATION OF SOCIALIST YOUTH, AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS, ORGANS, AND BODIES WITHIN THE SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS AT ALL LEVELS RANGING FROM THE COMMUNE TO THE FEDERATION. IT IS TRUE THAT WE CANNOT SAY THAT IN OUR SOCIETY THERE ARE NO PHENOMENA WHICH CAN CAUSE CERTAIN DISCONTENT AMONG THE WORKING PEOPLE AND CITIZENS, PHENOMENA SUCH AS, FOR INSTANCE, THE SUPPLY OF CERTAIN PRODUCTS IN SHORT SUPPLY. HOWEVER, IT MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN THAT THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IS VERY DIFFICULT NOT ONLY IN OUR COUNTRY, BUT IN THE REST OF THE WORLD. I PERSONALLY THINK THAT WE ARE ON THE RIGHT TRACK TO OVERCOMING SOON THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH WE HAVE BEEN EXPERIENCING UNTIL NOW. NATURALLY, THIS WILL NOT BE DONE ALL AT ONCE, BUT THERE WILL BE AN END TO IT.

AT HIS MEETING WITH THE SOCIOPOLITICAL AKTIV OF THE NIS COMMUNE TODAY, DRAGOSLAV MARKOVIC ESPECIALLY SPOKE ABOUT RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD SOCIAL PROPERTY AND SAID THAT THE LACK OF IT HAS COST OUR COUNTRY A GREAT DEAL UP TO NOW.

RIBICIC MEETS WITH BELGRADE GARRISON OFFICERS

LD132334 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0947 GMT 13 May 83

[Text] Belgrade, 13 May (TANJUG) -- Mitja Ribicic, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, had a meeting at the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) Club with serving and retired officers of the Belgrade garrison. Ribicic, in his speech, and in direct conversation with YPA officers, spoke about Yugoslavia's international position and about the topical issues in our society.

Ribicic emphasized that Yugoslavia's international position is stable. This is confirmed, among other things, by the results of the Seventh Nonaligned Summit, and also by the intensive cooperation which we achieve at the highest levels with a large number of countries, including the leading powers. The attitudes of others toward us are generally distinguished, he said, by respect for our position and our well-known foreign policy orientation. However, Ribicic also pointed out that the general climate extant in the modern world, essentially distinguished by a multitude of acute crisis flashpoints, ineffectiveness of negotiations between the great powers, and the continued arms race, which makes the general situation in the world very complicated and precarious, demands sustained concern for defending independence, freedom, and sovereignty. This means that it is also necessary for us to struggle persistently to overcome all forms of internal difficulty, in order that we may deprive opponents of the opportunity of exploiting them.

Ribicic spoke in light of the decisions of the 12th LCY Congress and of the decisions of the LCY Central Committee concerning the state of affairs in the country and in society, and about the tasks facing the LCY and all other organized socialist forces in the struggle to overcome the existing difficulties and especially to achieve economic stabilization and economic development, realize the constitutional concept of a unified Yugoslav market, the place and role of associated labor, the development of socialist self-management, democratic self-management consciousness and practice, and the collective and individual responsibility of each and every person to fulfill their own role and the social obligations they have taken on, to humanize social relations, and to develop and strengthen Yugoslav socialist patriotism and the brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities.

The ideopolitical unity and unity of action of the LCY, the consistent respect for the principles of democratic centralism, and the high level of mobility and responsibility of all Communists, organizations, and organs in the struggle to realize the leading ideopolitical role of the LCY, Comrade Ribicic emphasized, are the decisive preconditions for the realization by the LCY of its role in carrying out the aforementioned tasks.

Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense; Colonel General Dane Cuic, president of the LCY organization in the YPA; Colonel General Petar Gracanin, YPA chief of general staff; and other associates of the federal secretary for national defense were also present at the meeting with Mitja Ribicic.

SPLIT: MAMULA VISITS NAVAL CENTER, MEETS LEADERS

LD161127 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0931 GMT 16 May 83

[Text] Split, 16 May (TANJUG) -- Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, and his associates today continued the visit to the naval district and to the Socialist Republic of Croatia. He visited the naval district command and naval units and institutions in the Split garrison.

Vice Admiral Tihomir Vilovic, commander of the naval district, acquainted the federal secretary with the results of training, level of combat readiness, and moral-political situation among the members of the naval district.

During the visit to the "Marshal Tito" naval center, the federal secretary had a long talk with cadets of the 33d and 34th class of the naval academy who will take up their first duties on the ships and in the units of the Yugoslav Navy this year.

During a conversation with the leadership of the Community of Split Municipalities, which was held this afternoon, Adm Mamula was informed about current economic and political trends and defense preparations in Dalmatia by Nedjelko Kujundzic, president of the Assembly of the Community of the Split Municipalities, and by Marin Buzle, president of the Presidium of the Conference of the League of Communists of the Community of Municipalities. They also considered cooperation between the units [words indistinct] of the Yugoslav People's Army and the competent social subjects and assessed it as favorable.

The talks in the Assembly of the Community of Split Municipalities were also attended by Colonel General Milan Daljevic, assistant federal secretary for national defense; Rear Admiral Drago Stok; and Major General Evan Omahen.

During his tour, the federal secretary will visit several garrisons in the naval district as well as several municipalities in the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

POZDERAC ADDRESSES PETROVA GORA RALLY 15 MAY

LD151653 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1249 GMT 15 May 83

[Excerpts] Petrova Gora, 15 May (TANJUG) -- In the name of the victims of Petrova Gora and all other battlefields of the revolution, in the name of the 1.7 million who perished and were overcome, we cannot, must not, and will not allow anyone else to gamble with the values of our liberation struggle. Let this be quite clear to the pro-Ustashe and pro-Chetnik elements, Cominformists, Rankovic followers, clerico-nationalists, anarcho-liberals, Young Muslims, irredentists, and all other dregs of history which have fouled our areas and which, through the energy of our peoples, have received their well-deserved punishment and scorn for all times.

This was stressed by Hamdija Pozderac, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee Presidium and member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, speaking today at Petrova Gora at a people's rally organized to mark the 41st anniversary of the great battle and Partisan break through the encirclement at Petrova Gora.

Pozderac warned that in recent times, with the more pronounced economic and social difficulties and the increasingly complex international situation, there is intensified activity by various hostile forces attempting to infiltrate into our social system -- sometimes surreptitiously and sometimes more openly -- anachronistic viewpoints and a practice which is opposed to self-management. In this framework phenomena of petty bourgeois liberalism and the revival of the "bourgeois" without the bourgeoisie, the advocation of statism and "strong-arm" policies as a way out of accumulated social and economic difficulties and eventual alternatives to "ineffective" self-management are increasing. There are also tendencies toward false ultra-leftism which attempts to win over the younger generation with its radical slogans. Discussions are also reviving about ethnogenesis and the historical origin of certain peoples, which has a negative effect on international and overall relations in our society. In addition the activity of various clerico-nationalists has increased and they are attempting to use their religion and religious freedom for political ends, to assume "patronage" and a "concern" for "their" nation by identifying religion with nation, and are taking stock of the population according to believers and nonbelievers and classifying them accordingly. We do well to ponder all these phenomena, which we must firmly nip in the bud, from this place, this battlefield and shrine of the revolution, and say that those who created history, the workers, peasants, intellectuals, all our nations and nationalities, all our working people and citizens, will know how to defend its values and achievements against all and every kind of attack regardless of the direction it comes from.

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA LC PRESIDIUM VIEWS SECURITY

LD161539 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1436 GMT 16 May 83

[Text] Sarajevo, 16 May (TANJUG) -- The Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee held an expanded session today. The meeting was attended by members of the LCY Central Committee from the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists, members of the Presidency of this republic, presidents of organs of sociopolitical organizations and state organs. Current issues concerning the political security situation in the country and in the republic were discussed.

The Presidium also discussed and adopted the report on its work in the period from May 1982 until May 1983. The report will be submitted at the next Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee session for discussion and adoption.

SERBIAN OFFICIALS DISCUSS SECURITY SITUATION

Internal Affairs Secretariat's Lalovic

AU131415 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 83 p 7

[B. Jankovic report]

[Excerpts] Yesterday at the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the SR of Serbia, Svetomic Lalovic, republican secretary for internal affairs of the SR of Serbia, held a press conference in connection with the celebration of security day, at which he informed the journalists about the security situation and spoke on the work of the Security Service.

"Acting increasingly openly and aggressively, the enemies of our system, too, have tried to exploit the existing difficulties and problems of the society, figuring that the economic and political and security situation in the country has created certain prerequisites for attacking the SFRY constitutional system," Lalovic pointed out. "Attacking the basic values of our society, the hostile individuals and groups strive to exacerbate the problems and cause a further escalation of difficulties in order to confirm their claims that our society's subjective forces are unable to successfully solve them."

The activities of the enemies are manifested in various ways, Secretary Lalovic further explained, but what is perceived as a basic characteristic of these activities is a joint effort of the enemies to present themselves is as lawful a manner as possible, gain as much publicity as possible, and set themselves up as a lawful opposition. Thus, the enemies of our self-managing socialist society want to appear as a lawful opposition to broaden their influence in the society, initiate a process of changes in the country, and invalidate Comrade Tito's personality and work, the League of Communists, and all progressive forces of the society.

The activities of the nationalists and irredentists in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo are a special problem that burdens the security situation. Although the enemy in that area has been suppressed as a result of the action of the organized socialist forces and the internal affairs organs, it continues to show its presence with periodical actions and thereby maintain the continuity of its intentions and goals. The Albanian nationalists no longer expose themselves in any mass actions and do not organize demonstrations and public protests. Now, Lalovic said, they work more subtly by exerting pressure on the positively oriented working people and citizens. In this respect they enjoy considerable support from the hostile emigres of Albanian origin and Albania's official propaganda and intelligence service.

The extremist Yugoslav emigres strive to become more intensively included in the entire hostile activity with their subversive propaganda activity, Secretary Lalovic stressed, and foreign intelligence services have intensified their efforts to gain as precise an insight as possible into all trends in our country and, on that basis, to exercise a certain influence which is in accordance with the bloc interests of their countries, an influence in the direction of depriving our country of its independent position.

Undersecretary Djordjevic

AU132000 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 13 May 83

[Mijusko Tomic interview with Dr Obren Djordjevic, undersecretary in the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia and head of Serbian State Security; place and date not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] Dr Djordjevic, the threads by which the enemies and various intelligence services endeavor to infiltrate our system, (?to capture) it and to adjust it to their manner of work are very fine, one may say refined.

[Answer] Foreign intelligence services of at least some countries are developing very intensive activities. Hostile emigres work in the same field, especially those in the West. But I also want to say the following: At this moment, in this situation, in our assessment, we have no reason for excitement despite a number of shortcomings and objective difficulties, subjective shortcomings and so forth; or rather, at this moment we are not opting for repressive measures in all cases.

We reckon that it is more useful for the society to follow the activities of individuals, to perceive the objects of attack in all this, and at a certain moment the question of repression will arise and the individuals who are standing out [koji eskaliraju izrazenije] in this field will be repressed, including the agents of foreign intelligence services.

[Question] Do the channels of the intelligence and the counterintelligence activities against Yugoslavia intersect?

[Answer] The foreign intelligence services of at least some countries in their activities against our country are concentrating, above all, on those individuals who manifest to a greater or lesser degree their hostile views toward our system to make them speak from the positions of these countries and their interests. Indeed, these services endeavor to create, through these individuals, a situation and a state in the country which would suit them.

I may say that Yugoslavia's service -- the services in the republics and provinces and in the federation -- and our other services, are following these activities rather successfully and they are at this moment capable of uncovering everything that happens and that is directed against our system.

[Question] Dr Djordjevic in this connection I would ask another question: To what extent do the intelligence services and the enemies succeed in penetrating our system through the various services and agencies, either abroad or in our country, because of the dependence of many of our work organizations on the production materials and technology of foreign firms, and how do they do it?

[Answer] It must be understood that it is a matter of hostile activities in which our citizens are predominantly taking part; they are either in the service of foreign intelligence services and hostile emigres, or they are simple crooks who for selfish personal interests endeavor to grab major material benefits. In fact these are hostile activities in which our people, our citizens, are tied with various reactionary hostile centers abroad.

(?The State Security) tries here in cooperation with the public security service, the exchange control, and other organs and organizations in society to oppose this.

I may also say that assistance offered by work organizations is at this moment more and more pronounced; they are most frequently the initiators in uncovering such cases.

Militia Official

AU141750 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 83 p 8

[B. Jankovic report]

[Text] As far as public hostile activity is concerned, political delinquency in Serbia proper has been slightly decreasing, Jovan Vuckovic, head of the Militia Administration at the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the SR of Serbia, pointed out at a conference of magistrates recently.

However, a considerable increase in written hostile propaganda has been noticed, in slogan propaganda at public places, in leaflet distribution, in the drawing of hostile symbols and wearing them on clothes, in the distribution of pamphlets and other propagandist material, the mailing of anonymous, often threatening letters and the like.

Increasingly greater attention, Vuckovic pointed out, has been attracted by cases of group and provocative singing of nationalist songs aimed at openly irritating and provoking members of other peoples and nationalities and discriminating against them.

Public hostile activities, as they say in the militia administration of the SR of Serbia, manifested themselves last year in nationalist behavior (30.3 percent), offending and depreciating socialist-patriotic and national feelings of citizens (25.4 percent), depreciating sociopolitical organizations and their organs (6.4 percent), offending and depreciating the personality and work of Comrade Tito (6.3 percent), offending and depreciating the sociopolitical order of the SFRY (5.7 percent), provoking discontent of working people and citizens by presenting and spreading false information (4.3 percent), subjecting to ridicule state and other emblems and symbols (1.5 percent), and pro-Chetnik activities (1.2 percent).

Last year the Militia Administration of the SR of Serbia noticed that offenses in the field of political delinquency occurred in all parts of Serbia proper, but predominant for the number and seriousness of the offenses performed was the Belgrade region, which is logical, it was concluded at the Militia Administration, considering the number, and the national and social structures of the population of the capital.

Also characteristic of Belgrade are the enemy's attempts to organize wide-scale public hostile activities. For example, under the direct influence of anarcho-liberals and other extremists, a number of public hostile activities, the writing of slogans and other offenses occurred in the Belgrade region last year. Apart from the earlier attempts by a group of extremist persons to organize mass demonstrations in front of the Polish Embassy in support of the Solidarity trade union, a number of these extremists tried to create serious disorder at and disrupt the rally of Solidarity with the Struggle of Palestinian people organized by Belgrade sociopolitical organizations last year. The energetic persecution of the participants of this unsuccessful attempt, their punishment for offenses, and their sentencing have prevented such and similar occurrences, the Militia Administration assesses, though actions by like-minded people, writing of slogans, and other forms of hostile activities have been noticed.

Three Enemy Organizations

Three enemy organizations with 15 members whose aim was to influence the orientations of the broadest strata of the population in the direction of the counterrevolution and destroying constitutional order in our country through written and verbal hostile propaganda and other ways were discovered in the Bujanovac, Presevo, and Medvedja communes last year.

Reports on Offenses

Organs of internal affairs in the SR of Serbia, not including the provinces, last year submitted reports on offenses against 785 citizens for public hostile actions and brought 20 criminal charges for criminal acts of provoking nationalist, racist, and religious hatred, insulting the reputation of the SFRY, hostile propaganda, and spreading false information.

SLOVENE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETS ON CADRE POLICY

LD161924 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0952 GMT 16 May 83

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 16 May (TANJUG) -- The main point on the agenda of today's session of the Slovene LC Central Committee was the debate on the implementation of the cadre policy and in this connection with adoption of Communists' tasks.

We in the LC must assess to what extent and how the cadre policy currently reflects the interests, desire, and will of the working class and how much and in what way the working class, organized on the basis of self-management, working people, and citizens genuinely exerts and influences the decisionmaking process on cadre policy -- that is, on planning, education, employment or selection to responsible posts, Miha Ravnik, secretary of the Presidium of the Slovene LC Central Committee, said in his introductory report.

Critically assessing the implementation of the cadre policy, Miha Ravnik said that in the future, the unity of ideo-political, moral-political, and professional criteria should be taken into consideration; furthermore, that workers should be true exponents of the cadre policy and not merely informed about solutions. In the future the cadre policy, he said, must take into account more long-term solutions, -- that is, expand the cadre base with capable people, primarily workers, women and, in particular, young capable workers and experts, because the younger generation must assume a larger share of social responsibility, particularly in the education system, national defense, and self-protection, in implementing tasks in production, culture, physical culture, information, etc.

Following the report by Miha Ravnik, secretary of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, a debate was held at the session.